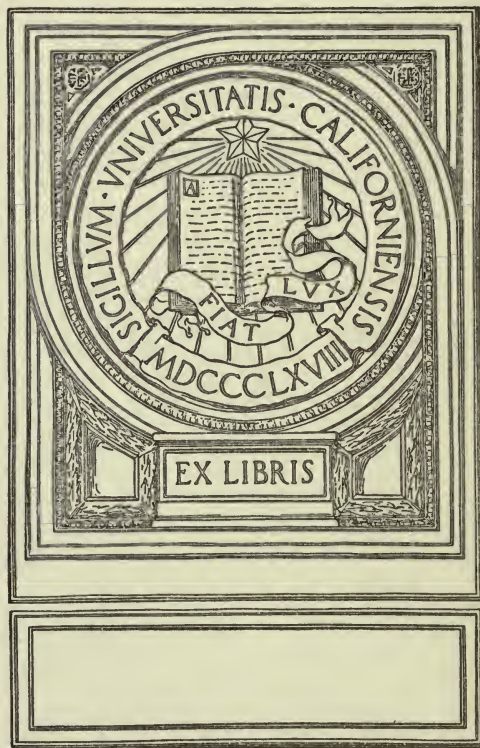


The Struggle
for
Religious Liberty

John Churchwood Wilson

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THE STRUGGLE
FOR
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

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THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

IN THE FIFTEENTH AND
SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

BEING A SERIES OF SIX LECTURES DELIVERED ON SUNDAY EVENINGS
IN THE SOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BROOKLYN
IN THE WINTER OF 1903

BY
JOHN CHURCHWOOD WILSON
JUNIOR PASTOR OF THE CHURCH



NEW YORK
1905

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But he
To whom a thousand memories call,
Not being less but more than all
The gentleness he seem'd to be,

Best seem'd the thing he was, and join'd
Each office of the social hour
To noble manners, as the flower
And native growth of noble mind.

Tennyson

PREFATORY NOTE.

It has been a work at once of honor and of love—for these two tones blend in every remembrance of my Associate—to bring together in this volume such notes as were accessible, recalling a series of Six Lectures entitled, “The Struggle for Religious Liberty,” which were delivered by the Reverend John Churchwood Wilson, during the winter before his death, in the South Congregational Church, Brooklyn, of which he was then the Junior Pastor.

Perhaps a single word of explanation as to the form of these addresses should in justice preface them. They are not carefully finished essays, and were in no degree intended or prepared for publication by their author. They are rather groups of memoranda, standing for familiar discourses delivered to an assembly of friends and parishioners. Mr. Wilson was accustomed to accumulate, but not to collate, a large mass of material in his preliminary study of a theme. Then, after speaking, he would write out rapidly the main body of his address, just as it left its warm record in his mind, but with no pause for added literary finish, and sometimes allowing gaps to remain in the writing, which could only be filled afterward by

citations from the earlier and more scattered notes.

It is after some such informal fashion that the following discourses have been arranged for this publication. They have not indeed been "edited" in any sense. No change has been permitted from the manuscript. The paragraphs stand as their gifted author spoke them; but they have received no revising touch from his hand.

Certain repetitions of phrase, certain colloquialisms of style, suited well enough for familiar talk with one's own people, would, without doubt, have disappeared from any page which a careful student and literary craftsman like Mr. Wilson would have intended for permanency. But I have thought it truest to him to let the addresses, with this foreword of explanation, remain as he left them. Even in this half extemporaneous form they reproduce to us, who knew and loved him, something of the true picture of his mind—genuine student, convincing preacher, devoted pastor, chivalrous friend.

I venture to add the following brief record of his life:

John Churchwood Wilson was born in Philadelphia, May 9, 1862. His father was Thomas Wilson, a native of Scotland, and his mother was Ruth Anna Coy, whose Quaker ancestry had long been resident in Philadelphia.

John's studies were pursued at the Philadelphia academies of "Eastburn" and "Rugby." Enter-

ing Amherst College in Massachusetts, he was graduated in the class of 1885. He studied Theology at Yale Divinity School, graduating in 1888. Before his graduation he had been called to the First Congregational Church, Stonington, Conn., where he was ordained and installed pastor May 23d of that year. He remained at Stonington until called to the pastorate of the Centre Congregational Church, Meriden, Conn., in November of 1892. During this pastorate the church edifice was remodeled. Thence, early in 1896, he removed to Brooklyn, New York, to become pastor of the Puritan Congregational Church, where also he accomplished a memorable work of reconstruction and upbuilding.

In 1900, under repeated and stubborn attacks of "grip," his health partially gave way, and although his people generously granted him a year's leave of absence abroad, he was compelled to resign, and was dismissed in June of 1901. His health, however, improved, and feeling himself able to undertake the lessened responsibilities of an Associate, he came in that capacity to the South Church, and there remained its Associate and Junior Pastor until his death, July 9, 1903.

This brief foreword cannot attempt to characterize him, or to dwell upon the volume and value of his accomplishment in his vocation. He was universally honored, and by all who knew him equally admired and trusted. He was a true scholar and gentleman, thoughtful, sensitive, lib-

eral, consecrated, and though affable in manner, brave to dauntlessness.

He possessed a spirit of unusual tone, in whose foreground dwelt a rare wealth of noble ideals and a most passionate love of liberty. His mental and moral traits were in singular unison of action, so that the painstaking search and utterance of the scholar were in him reinforced by a certain gallant and knightly fervor, imparting to all his personality and work a distinction and a beauty whose impression cannot fade from our memory.

ALBERT J. LYMAN.

BROOKLYN, *June 9, 1905.*

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PRELUDE.

THE RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

In any careful study of human affairs we discover that the history of religion is inseparable from the history of human life; that it is, indeed, a part of the general life of mankind; that it is indissolubly bound up with learning, with politics, with commerce, with finance; and is so involved in every phase of human life that it cannot be eliminated from any part.

In the fourteenth century what passed for religion was the dominant power in the Western world. The Church everywhere occupied a commanding and indisputable position. Kings and princes paid tribute to her and acknowledged her lordship over them. They were all the subjects of the Church of Rome. To give to her sovereignty an authority which she did not care to claim openly for herself as a church, she had voluntarily associated with her in her rule a military form of government, and professed to share with it the dignities and forms of a universal empire. This

associate was known as the Holy Roman Empire, which was nothing more than a fiction, so far as authority and power went, and which long served the purpose of saving the Holy See from open scandal and revolt, which would have certainly arisen had she assumed to exercise the military power and to wield political sway; and thus, under cover of religious authority, the Church came to exercise for five hundred years the chief power. The Empire fought the battles of the Papacy and kept the peoples in check.

But apart from this universal and oftentimes enforced dominance of the Papacy, there was also, by common consent, a very general supremacy of the priesthood throughout all lands. The priests were the learned men wherever there was any learning. They were the wise men wherever there was any wisdom. They were the able men for all kinds of affairs. Hence, they rose easily and naturally to every kind of eminence among their contemporaries. The universities were in their hands. They established and presided over the schools. They were the writers and the statesmen of their time, and it was not until the invention of the art of printing that their dominance in Europe was or could have been broken. Indeed, long after that they

held control of the universities of the world, had almost exclusive possession of its learning, and were the tutors and guardians of its princes. As late as the seventeenth century France was ruled by a priest—the ablest and most magnificent ruler she ever had in fact, either before or after. It was Richelieu, the Cardinal, that actually gave France her supremacy in the councils of Europe in his own day, and prepared the way and made possible her achievements and glory under Louis XIV., the “Grand Monarch.” So also in England, only a century before, a priest, Cardinal Woolsey, had been the first to see the need of a new policy for England, and had created such a policy, both domestic and foreign, which has continued to this day, and served the purpose of laying, deep and strong, the foundation for the Tudor successes, and by his statesmanlike conduct in matters of education gave a mighty impulse to the future greatness of England, which has not yet spent itself.

The study of history is, of course, the study of the story of man, that is to say, of the whole course of his progress and development, his civilization, Christianization. It involves a study of his languages, customs, laws, his literature, his art, and his sciences, his

philosophies and his religions. Man's history is the history of his intellectual, moral and spiritual development; not simply the history of his wars, of the rise and fall of dynasties, of the intrigues of courts and the triumphs of armies. Those events used to constitute the greater part of what was called history. It was supposed that history was played out upon the narrow stage of the king's palace and the battlefield; and books that professed to deal with history were largely confined to describing the life of the court. They told us what were the personal habits of the monarch; who were the officers of state who surrounded him; how they ministered unto his convenience and amusement. His receptions, levees, banquets and progresses through his kingdom were all elaborately described; so that until recently the annals of history were a kind of court calendar, all taken up with kings and queens, princes and princesses, with dukes and duchesses, with lords and knights and ladies, glitter and glare and fashion, silks and velvets, satins and furs, gold and diamonds, ivory and pearls. It was one long-drawn panorama of stately personages and puppets, who wore crowns and sat on thrones and carried gold, silver or ivory sticks, who rode on splendidly capari-

soned steeds in coats of mail, with great swords in their hands, or were drawn about in chariots of ivory and gold by half a score of milk-white horses. Occasionally the tedium and monotony of this Arabian Nights show was broken by the sound of the trumpet, the clang of arms and the tramp of multitudes of men; and that in time was followed by a great slaughter of the menials and servants of the high and mighty rulers and who otherwise were not considered worthy of so much as mention in comparison with the grand and gorgeous courts; but who, in time of battle, were brought out and marshaled on the plains to fight its battles and sustain its dignities and powers.

When I speak of history, I do not refer to the stage pageantry of courts, nor to the ghastly horrors of the battlefields, which made up the life of kings; but rather to the quiet, steady, sober, somewhat unobtrusive life of humanity, which flowed on outside the palace precincts, often in spite of the palace influences, and not infrequently tended to the defeat and overthrow of the forces within the palace itself, which sought to check and suppress it. The history of the world is the history of man in all the stages of his progress and in all the tendencies and purposes of his

life. It is a stream that began low down and rose higher with passing years. It is the stream of the life of the whole people, not of any particular few, be they never so great or powerful or grand. As it goes on, it creates institutions for itself, and then submerges them as they decline to conform to its purposes, and demolishes them as they prove inadequate to its demands. The pageantry of courts is only one of these institutions. Seen in the light of this age, such parades are puppet shows; and the books that chronicle them are to us no better than works of fiction or the plays of a dramatist, so far as instruction or inspiration is concerned. They read well and are extremely interesting, but they do not convey to us any adequate impression of the times or inform us about the things we need to know.

If you would know the history of any people you must go down among the people and study them in their homes, their workshops, their offices and stores and schools. The government and the legislature are only two departments of a people's life. They represent the people's relation to other peoples and their internal state of order and freedom. But the real life of the people is underneath all that and upholds it. Their industries, their arts,

their activities, their hopes and fears, their struggles, their successes and failures, their character, are the underlying basis upon which ultimately all other things must rest; the moulding and determining forces of government and legislature alike, so that when we come to study history in any true sense, we are studying human nature—human nature at home and abroad—human nature in all its activities, in all its phases. We are studying character in the best possible way—character in its living relations, not only as it now is, but as it has been, and as it has been from the beginning and always, in actual conditions, in circumstances that have actually existed.

The value of this sort of study is its help to understand humanity. There is no such help to the knowledge of men as a study of those men who, in every variety and phase of human life, and with every possible motive to action, have lived out their lives on a great scale and left us the whole, with its results, to observe. The reading of fiction is supposed to serve this purpose, and when it is good, healthful reading, it is beneficial in its revelations of character. A writer like Dickens, who takes single traits of character and studies them in the large and presents them

isolated and alone, personifying separate traits in single individuals and setting them over against each other, unmodified and unrelieved by modifying traits, has done a great service to mankind by making good traits attractive and evil ones repulsive. Still, even of novels, it is true that many of the best of them are historical novels, as are some of Scott and Victor Hugo. The dramatist also finds his greatest field in history. It is the great stage on which great minds find room adequately to stretch themselves; and there is no field of romance ever created in the brain of the dreamer of fiction that can compare for a moment with the field of history for great themes, great characters, great occasions, startling situations and marvelous occurrences.

The religious value of such a study is seen at once when you consider how large a place religion has played in the life of the world. Recall how large a portion of the Bible is historical. At least twenty-one books of the Bible, making in all a good third of its contents, are historical books. The first ten books of the Old Testament are among the earliest history we have, and they are still the most reliable, valuable and satisfactory records of those early times. The discoveries of

ancient ruins in which are records on stones have served only to corroborate these ancient documents.

The first five books in the New Testament also are historical books. Any extended study of the Scriptures of the Old or New Testaments must of necessity involve a study of history; and the reason for this is not hard to find, for history is in the last analysis God's way with man. It is a record and a revelation of His laws for man. It is a living illustration and demonstration of the moral order. God's moral laws are seen in history just as His physical laws are seen in nature. The laws of nature are the laws of God for organic and inorganic substances. The moral laws are the laws of God for moral beings. History shows the application and the working out of these laws among men. In those civilizations that have perished, the empires that have dissolved and peoples that have disappeared from off the face of the earth, we trace in their rise and fall the causes of their success and of their failure. The supremacy of Greece, and afterwards of Rome, for several centuries is seen to be due to the qualities which in early and simple times ministered to the growth of both peoples in physical endurance, in mental force and vigor,

and in moral purity and power. So, also, with increasing prosperity, came the same causes of disintegration and final dissolution. Wealth gave leisure and leisure was turned to idleness and idleness begat self-indulgence and self-indulgence provoked vice and crime; and so corruption set in and undermined the whole fabric of the national life. Once moral vigor and integrity lost, the way was open for the inroads of every form of decay. Mental weakness soon followed and physical degeneracy was not far behind, so that the whole magnificent structures of Alexander's and of Cæsar's empires collapsed from precisely the same causes—the loss of a real manhood and a true character on the part of the people. The laws of God concerning man as a moral being are thus shown to us on a large scale through the rise and fall of empires.

Let us look now at the value of this kind of study in some of its details. Let me name, in the first place, the religious value of the study of history in this, namely:

I. *It takes one out of his present surroundings and sets him down in the midst of affairs that have no immediate personal relation to him, but which awaken his interest and appeal to his judgment.* In that way he learns

to take an intellectual rather than an emotional interest in human affairs and to judge candidly and impartially of persons, events, motives and purposes. As we see things in the present they have personal relations to ourselves; they enlist our sympathies and arouse our feelings, so that the judgment is more or less obscured and prejudice is likely to be aroused. This is manifest in all political and religious discussions. Here we are partisans, and the party slogan stirs the blood to fever heat, so that the intellect and judgment are in abeyance for the time and prejudice and passion rule supreme; or the appeal is made to the party shibboleth and self-interest is aroused, and the judgment is warped and conscience silenced, so that our personal relations to affairs in the present often act to raise us to the fever heat of passion or to chill us to the freezing point of fear. But in studying these same problems in history we are taken out of ourselves, as it were, and so the personal element is removed and the boundaries of self-interest, of prejudice and of passion are transcended. We are thus able to see clearly, to judge calmly, and to form righteous judgments; and that is a clear gain to one's moral and religious nature, for it helps to cultivate in him a sense of justice, of

righteousness, and of truth. It gives him a sort of standard with which to compare things in the present and helps to educate in him the habit and use of impartial and dispassionate judgment. It gives him precedents, as it were, to go by. He knows when others have made mistakes; he sees where were the slippery places in the lives of others; and is thus better able to detect and avoid them when they arise in his own course. He has learned to condemn evil in others, and he can scarcely condone it now in himself. He has learned to admire courage and heroism in others, and he will scarcely endure cowardice and sordidness. He has seen how in the long run evil courses had miserable, even tragic, ends, and how at last righteousness brings its blessed rewards. And so he learns to be patient and steadfast and enduring in the midst of storm and tempest, in which all things rock.

II. Again, the study of history helps us *to estimate the relative value of present things and so to distinguish the permanent from the transient elements of life that we are not likely to confuse them.*

There are always these two elements present in every course of life; but it is not always easy to distinguish between them. It is this fact that creates confusion so often and

makes it so difficult to decide in every question of alternatives which course to pursue, which party to espouse, which cause to advocate in any particular case. As between a good and an evil, we naturally desire to choose the good; but how are we always to know what is good? Of two evils, choose the least; but who is to decide which is the least? And good men, sincere men, are found on both sides of every question. Men of character and men of ability are pitted against each other; and there is no doubt as to their sincerity and loyalty to their convictions. And how are you to account for it? It is manifest that they cannot both be right; one must be right and the other must be wrong. There can be no moral distinction drawn between the men. They are equally sincere and earnest. But there is a moral distinction in their positions, and what is the explanation of it? The difference is an intellectual one. One man has learned how rightly to estimate the value of the question at issue, to distinguish between its permanent and transient features, and so he takes his stand on the ground of the principle that is at stake and proceeds according to the expediency of the case. The other man does not distinguish between what is expedient and what is necessary, and so he

gets tangled up in a web of sophisms which he mistakes for principles. He mistakes, for instance, the principle for the method. Because there is but one principle, he argues that there is but one way to secure that principle; so he confounds the method with the principle, the expedient with the necessary, and lays his emphasis on the wrong point. The difficulty, I repeat, is an intellectual one. He is not thinking clearly or straight. His intellectual processes have become entangled and involved in a maze of difficulties. Thus it is that so many events that seem of supreme importance to some persons seem of so little importance to others.

Some people think a principle is at stake when nothing but a question of expediency or of method is at issue. Many persons, for instance, declare the Constitution of the United States to be endangered when nothing but a question of governmental policy is under discussion; and so they take alarm at nothing and are affrighted at spectres. Again, we hear it declared that the truth is imperilled because certain novel and hitherto unheard-of views of the truth are being advanced. Men do not distinguish in such cases between the permanent and the transient. Truth is permanent; it cannot be imperilled. Opinions and views of things, whether they be old or

new, are transient. And it is the truth that threatens *them*, not *they* that threaten the truth. Shallow and weak-minded persons who do not know the course of religious thought are taken captive by false religious teachings, and men who are easily led about and swayed by every wind of doctrine fall an easy prey to fanciful and mystical views of things, from which a little knowledge of history could have saved them. Ancient and long-exploded falsehoods are always being unearthed and their skeletons dragged from their tombs or their shades evoked and conjured with, even as dead and Oriental philosophies now reappear as Theosophy, Christian Science and Faith Healing. Any one who knows the history of thought knows that these are but the wraith of long-buried philosophies, articulated and galvanized anew and sent forth under a new name to deceive the ignorant and unwary. A student of history should not be deceived by them. It is a mere question of time before the truth overcomes the falsehood and drives it in shame out of the world.

“Truth forever on the scaffold;
 Wrong forever on the throne.
 Yet the scaffold rules the future,
 And behind the dim unknown
 Standeth God within the shadow,
 Keeping watch above His own.”

That is the lesson that history teaches with reference to all right and all true things. The very stars in their courses fight against evil and falsehood, and there is no question whatever about the final victory. Or, take the Bible, as an instance. Consternation is constantly being caused among faithful and conservative Christians because of a new view or method of treating the Bible, and the cry goes up from conscientious and loyal souls that the authority of the Bible is menaced and its influence is being destroyed. And so they hastened to take up cudgels in defense of the Bible. And with what result? namely: That they have disclosed at once the weakness of their position, which is not so much a zeal for the Bible as it is for some traditional or particular view of the Bible. A little knowledge of history would have disclosed to them that the Bible is not in any danger. Why! the Bible has stood every kind of test that can possibly be applied to it. It has been under fire ever since it has been a book. It was burned in the third century as a book of black arts, and for almost a thousand years the men whose business it was to teach it and preach it forbade its use to the people and made it a capital crime for any but a priest to be found with one in his possession. Men, women and

children have been slain and burned and drowned by the thousand all over Europe for having Bibles in their possession or even hearing them read. And yet what was the first book printed on a printing press after the art of printing was invented but a Bible—the most hated and most forbidden book of those days. And whereas other books which men valued and treasured above all others and endeavored to preserve have been irretrievably lost, this book has been preserved to us through all kinds of opposition, and danger, too! If you had read history you would know that you cannot imperil the Bible, and neither can you destroy it. It has a self-preserving, self-propagating power, a kind of elastic and buoyant quality that insures it against all persecution and conflict. Whatever is opposed to it and whatever it condemns is bound sooner or later to come to naught.

Now you may try to explain this on any ground you please. It is the clear teaching of history that the Bible not only cannot be destroyed, but it cannot be imperilled, for the more it is condemned, criticised, ridiculed and forbidden, the faster it spreads and the more deeply it takes hold on the hearts of men. It teaches us to estimate

events at their true value—many events which seem of the utmost importance while they are taking place, but are soon forgotten and occupy so small a place in the after accounts of the times. Why, the conflicts and controversies and contentions which often so deeply agitated the minds of men, excite now only a passing interest in the student, if indeed they ever come to his notice at all. They were but petty, transient and insignificant matters whose results were not worth recording, and which failed to leave any permanent impression on the general course of events. It is thus also that men who figure large in their own times are often forgotten as soon as the earth closes over them, while many a comparatively unknown man in his day comes to have an importance to after ages out of all proportion to the position which he held in his own. He was a man of permanent significance, while the other was a transient meteor on the firmament of his age.

III. The study of history *furnishes us with the only possible field for the study of human nature on a large scale and in all its possible phases.* It sets before us not only the actions of men, but their motives for such actions, and the consequences that flowed from them, and thus, by demonstration, enables us to see what

courses of life are good and what are evil; what are desirable and what are undesirable; what are safe and beneficent, what unsafe and destructive; what is the way up in life and what is the way down in life. Human nature remains the same in all ages, in all its essential qualities, motives, passions, and powers. The customs, languages, laws and conditions of men change. Civilizations advance, knowledge grows, wealth and luxury increase, the advantages and blessings of life multiply. Under these advancements human nature improves and rises, becomes more refined and cultivated, more intelligent and enlightened, more noble, more divine. But through all these changes the essential human qualities—the qualities which have brought civilization out of savagery, knowledge out of ignorance, refinement out of gross animalism, and moral and spiritual conditions of life out of groveling sensualism; and those qualities which, working in the opposite directions, have wrought destructive decay and death, have destroyed men, have ruined peoples, have disintegrated empires—these same qualities are still seen to be at work in and among the men of this age, and by knowing what they have done we can predict what they will do. Certain laws of action are discovered in the af-

fairs of life which may be formulated and trusted with the same accuracy and certainty as the laws that govern the stars in their courses or govern the tides in their ebb and flow.

There is a modern objection to the study of history based upon the intensely practical nature of modern life, and the superiority of our conditions to those of any other age. "Why should we," asks the objector, "bother ourselves about the quarrels, the contentions, the follies and the foibles, the struggles and the battles, of our ancestors. Their hatreds, prejudices and ideals are not ours; we have long since outgrown them. Their quarrels are not our quarrels, neither are their struggles our struggles. Life is a processional, not a recession. We should look forward, not backward, even as we think forward and work forward and not backward. Our look should always be ahead with our face towards the future. The world is in the period of its youth; and it is not characteristic of a vigorous and growing youth to fall into reminiscence and grow pensive. The reminiscent stage of life comes last and is characteristic of old age. Let us, then, give our attention to the present and the future, which peremptorily demand our attention. Science, art, business

and politics—these are the sufficient and all-engrossing employments of the men of our age. Let us, then, relegate history to the lumber room of the past, where it belongs. Let the dead past bury its dead, while we “rise on stepping stones of our dead selves to higher things.”

“Not backward are our glances bent,
But onward to our Father’s house.”

All that sounds well and seems to be in keeping with the modern spirit of evolution and progress; but a little closer look will convince us, I think, that there is a grave error underlying any such position, which renders it utterly untenable, and it is this, namely, that evolution and progress are possible only on the condition that there has been a past, and that the best of that past is possessed and preserved by us. Of course, such possession and preservation are possible only on the basis of knowledge. Every science proceeds upon the basis of its own history, and has for its study a careful and minute investigation of the course it has taken, no less than a close observance of the field in which it is now working. Leave out the past of astronomy, chemistry, biology or any other modern science and you leave out a large part of its most important

knowledge and results. It is only as a knowledge of the past of any art is preserved to us that its present prosecution is possible; and he who would use an art to its best effects must possess a comprehensive and detailed knowledge of its past.

The same is true of the manner and method of all life. History, like Scripture, is written for our learning, that we, through the patience and achievements of the past, may have diligence in the present and hope of the future. It is a great thing to have a past, to be the heir of a noble race; to know that there runs in your veins the blood of heroes, of martyrs, of patriots, and of saints; to feel the throb of noble hearts through a long line of unselfish and benevolent ancestry. If one have any manhood or nobility in him, it will surely be quickened into newness of life and thrilled by an irresistible impulse to high resolves and noble deeds, when he knows that he is the offspring of those who laid down their lives for God and truth and the freedom of their conscience. That is the inheritance which is "undefiled and that fadeth not away."

And we of this age and land, who hold the Christian faith in simplicity with a pure heart and an untrammelled conscience, are the off-

spring of those who, in times past, passed through fire and flood, through imprisonments and persecutions; lost houses and lands, forsook their homes and friends, the loved scenes of their childhood, the beloved fellowships of mature life, and either laid down their lives for conscience' sake, or became voluntary exiles in strange lands or faced the dangers of primeval forests, inhabited by wild beasts and savage men. The struggle for religious liberty comprises the most heroic, the most brilliant, the most inspiring chapters of human history, from the days of the earliest martyr, Socrates. And those who bear the name of Protestant in this age are the legitimate heirs of these men. Their noble lives, their heroic deeds, their immortal achievements, are ours. They are our spiritual ancestors. Their faith, their courage, their dauntless perseverance, are our ensample in all high-hearted and noble living. How can the descendants of such men be pusillanimous, craven or sordid? How can *they* grovel and wallow in the mire that seems to be the native element of those only whose ancestors stoned the prophets and burned the martyrs? How can we who know at what price our liberties were bought for us ever betray such a trust as that? Let him who can answer, for I cannot.

In the brief course of lectures that are to follow on Sunday evenings I purpose to treat of those pages of such memorials as are covered by the title, "The Struggle for Religious Liberty" in England, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, confining our attention mainly to the period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It will embrace the times of the Reformation as they are illustrated for us by the names of Wyclif, Savonarola, Luther and William of Orange. These men are for us in this connection that

"Choir invisible

Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence; live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
to vaster issues."

LECTURE I.

GENERAL CONDITION OF EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION.

Let me suggest at the outset that the struggle for religious liberty and what is known as the Reformation are not in all respects identical movements. The Reformation was a great tidal wave which swept over Europe in the sixteenth century, out of the vast and troubled sea of the centuries whose waters had always been greatly agitated by the struggle for religious liberty. It was the culmination of that struggle. It asserted the fundamental principles upon which that struggle had proceeded, and succeeded in laying broad and secure foundations upon which true religious liberty could be built; but it left some of the higher standards and finer ideals unattained. In that respect there is much yet to be desired.

In view of the fact that the Reformation split Europe into two great warring religious camps, it is necessary to remind ourselves that up to that time there had been but one

Christian Church in Western Europe. And the struggle for religious liberty had gone on within that church and not outside of it, nor against it, after the first three centuries. Whatever glory and whatever shame attached to that church during the first fifteen centuries is shared equally by us all, Protestants and Roman Catholics alike. The Reformation itself originated within the Roman Catholic Church and was led by men bred in her schools and cloisters. We should also remember that the Roman Catholic Church of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is not the Roman Catholic Church of the twentieth century and in the United States.

From a very early age religious differences have engendered strife and stirred the most violent passions of men. Although the Jews tasted the bitterness of persecution, that did not prevent them from pressing the same cup to the lips of the early Christians, and, with the aid of the Romans, making them drink it to its dregs.

Then were written the first pages in the most sanguinary and thrilling story—a story of unutterable suffering and grim endurance for conscience' sake—which history's pages record. It can scarcely be called a struggle. It was as impossible for the obscure and de-

fenceless sufferers to resist their enemies as for a fly to resist the hand that crushes it. Judged from appearances, it was a remorseless massacre, which crushed its victims into the earth. But the real forces that were working out the problem were not on the surface. The odds against which the early Christians were matched drove them to seek refuge in the mountain fastnesses and in the subterranean caverns known as catacombs. Here they cherished their faith and worship until the violence of their enemies abated. After two centuries they came forth from their hiding places, disciplined by hardship, trained to prudence and foresight by the peril in which they had lived, and with a compact and efficient organization. Their leaders had improved their long seclusion to cultivate letters and arts and soon took leading places among scholars and men of affairs; so that when Constantine succeeded to the undivided possession of supreme power in the Roman Empire, prudence, if not preference, moved him to an alliance with them.

Then began a new phase in the struggle for religious liberty. The despised and persecuted Christians, now risen to places of power and possessing the throne in the person of the Emperor, did not abuse their trust.

Such was the spirit of sweet reasonableness which animated them that the first Christian emperor issued an edict of religious toleration, known as the Edict of Milan, which granted religious liberty within the empire on the basis of the sacred rights of conscience; only those religious rites were prohibited which involved immorality, magic or sorcery. Not until the fatal passion for power had been aroused in them by its possession did the Christians resort to persecution. The organization of the Christian Church kept pace with its spread in Europe. From Rome as a center the missionaries penetrated to all parts of Europe. They carried with them the love of the mother church from which they went and bound the churches which they planted to her in gratitude and Christian fellowship. The confidence and affection which she won by her generosity and self-sacrifice in the Gospel, she soon came to demand as her right, and when at length the Bishop of Rome secured the political power of his city, he aspired to make the traditional capital of the world its ecclesiastical capital also; then, with the policy of military Rome, the Christian Church adopted also the ambitions and relentless spirit of the Cæsars. Ecclesiastical Rome usurped the rights of

mankind and perverted their liberties as ruthlessly as did political Rome.

Through successive stages the Church mounted to the throne of its power until it was more absolute than the empire had ever essayed to be. Men like Gregory the Great, Leo III and Hildebrand made the most astonishing claims to absolute supremacy in human affairs, and treated with the utmost severity all who withstood their claims. Unavailing protests against their astounding pretensions were raised by men like John Scotus, Abelard, Arnold of Brescia and Wyclif; and in the humbler walks of life opposition showed itself in such sects as the Albigenses and the Waldenses, neither of which desired to separate itself from the Catholic Church. Both of them desired that its pretension should be moderated and its abuses reformed according to the Scriptural requirements of apostolic simplicity and purity. These men were simple-minded and their lives were pure, but they were subjected to the most remorseless persecution. Their heroic endurance and unfaltering faith have covered their memory with a halo of glory like unto that which surrounds the early Christian martyrs. During the massacre of the Albigenses was born the order of the

Dominicans, into whose hands was intrusted the institution known as the Inquisition, the most diabolical engine of intolerance and persecution that human ingenuity ever devised.

It is the fate of all despotisms to work their own destruction by a fatal disregard of the limits of human endurance, and when the papacy added the horrors of the Inquisition to the usurpation of the most sacred of human rights, and aggravated her offenses by the flagrant immorality of the clergy, she transcended her limits and invoked the long slumbering and now accumulated wrath of centuries, which burst forth in the Reformation, disrupted her solid empire and caused her the loss of two-thirds of her spiritual children.

Two great movements in the Middle Ages contributed to hasten the triumph of religious liberty in Europe. They were the Crusades and the Renaissance. The religious enthusiasm of Europe, dormant for centuries, was kindled by the fiery eloquence of Peter the Hermit as he preached a crusade against the "infidel Turks" for the purpose of rescuing the Holy Sepulcher from their hands. It was as when a door is suddenly opened into a house where a fire has long been smoldering, smothered in its own smoke, the whole

building is wrapped in a sudden conflagration; or, as when a volcano long extinct bursts into sudden activity. A spontaneous uprising, as of one man, unparalleled in history, took place among all classes of people. Kings and peasants, priests and lawyers, merchants and bankers, were swept by the same mighty impulse and fired by the same zeal, which for the time burned alike in every breast and submerged calculations and self-interest. All alike were moved to venture life and fortune in the holy cause.

During the space of two hundred years, seven upheavals of the populations took place known as the Crusades, five of them prodigious and two of them only relatively lesser, all of them mighty. Before the frenzy kindled by Peter the Hermit died out immense treasure was squandered, multitudes of lives were sacrificed and apparently nothing accomplished; total and disastrous failure seemed to attend it all.

But here again we are mistaken if we judge by appearances. For although the Crusaders whitened the plains of Asia Minor with their bones and dyed the grass of Northern Africa with their blood without achieving any permanent results in either Asia or Africa, their exodus from Europe and their return to

their former homes were attended by consequences in Europe far greater than would have been the conquest of all the East and the rescue of the relics of all the saints.

In the first place, they had broken the power of the Saracens by successive impacts upon them, by prolonged conflict with them. They had fought fire with fire. Religious fanaticism was matched against religious fanaticism, and it inflicted such punishment upon the rapacious and cruel Mussulman that he has never been able to rally from it. Although he reached the shores of Europe later on, he was exhausted with the struggle and has continued in a state of languishing impotency ever since.

In the second place, the Crusades had a marked and lasting effect upon the Crusaders themselves, and in spite of their suffering and losses the gain was greater than the loss, for it brought them into direct and immediate contact with the East, at that time the cultivated and refined portion of the world. Constantinople and Antioch, the two great storehouses of ancient art and learning, and the centers of the wealth and culture of the East, had become familiar to them. Antioch was for a time in their hands. The splendid buildings, fine fabrics,

beautiful statues, costly gems, were a revelation to the Crusaders, and served as object lessons; while the elegant refinements, splendid courtesy, magnificent manners and ancient learning of the East were not without their effect upon the coarse, rude and untamed barbarians of the West. Those who survived the conflict returned with new ideas of the character of the world in which they lived, of the meaning of civilization, of the possibilities of humanity, and of the defects of Europe. They had been to school and had traveled. Their view of life had been broadened and their minds enriched by contact with superior conditions of life and a great mental and moral revolution had been wrought in them.

But the Crusades had also an immediate and lasting effect upon Europe itself. For by enlisting in the Crusades the serf bought his freedom from the soil. The debtor was freed from his creditor. He that went out a slave came back a free man, with gold coin in his pocket and some new ideas of the world in his head. Serfdom and slavery were practically abolished in Europe. The cities also had been able, by immense sums of money paid to the hereditary princes, who held lordship over them, to buy their freedom

and secure charters for themselves which made them independent of the control of petty rulers; and by the long absence of the nobles in the East, the middle classes had learned to administer their own affairs, and so the backbone of the feudal system was broken and the period of freedom and enlightenment came in. Modern industrialism was inaugurated. New ideas sprang up and a redistribution of wealth and privileges took place, together with a new sense of their own place in the world and new wants and ambitions in the common people. The immediate results to Europe of the Crusades were incalculable. A new spirit of humanity and of enterprise, of hope and of ambition, had sprung up, and the death warrant was signed of the ancient régime of ignorance, superstition and terror which had reigned for a thousand years.

The second great movement that hastened the final conflict for religious liberty was the Renaissance, or revival of learning, in Europe, which followed upon the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. That was a momentous event for Western Europe. It sent hundreds of Greek scholars and literati to find refuge in the West. The learning and the manuscripts which they brought with

them created a great stir. Schools, academies and universities sprang up everywhere, and the Church ceased to be the sole custodian of knowledge. It was as a part of that movement that the University of Wittenberg was established by the Elector of Saxony, to which one Martin Luther came in 1508 as preacher and professor of theology. We shall hear more about that later on. A spirit of inquiry was awakened, investigations were instituted and historical and scientific studies were taken up in real earnest. The cold and lifeless formalism that had characterized the logic of the Schoolmen disappeared. The study of the Greek and Roman classics became a passion. Princes and potentates vied with one another in securing eminent scholars and elegant literati to adorn their courts; and the rich and the great became the profuse patrons of learning and spared no pains and no expense in collecting manuscripts and creating libraries and schools of learning. The minds of men already liberated from their ancient thralldom by the Crusades were quickened and enlightened by the new learning, which soon spread among all classes of the people.

In addition to these great movements, and perhaps as a consequence of them, was the

spirit of adventure which now broke out simultaneously in Italy and Spain, France and England, Germany and Holland. Inspired by Columbus, a native of Genoa, Italy, hundreds of adventurers braved the perils of the untraversed seas in search of new lands or new passages to the East. New continents were discovered and the globe was circumnavigated. Invention also was quickened, printing by movable types and the manufacture of paper from rags had but recently been invented. The mariner's compass came into general use in navigation. The telescope was invented and the heavens explored for new worlds, as the seas for new lands. The whole period was one of unprecedented mental activity and ferment. Copernicus, by his new system of astronomy, and Kepler, by his laws, were soon revolutionizing astronomy.

All of these things had their effects upon the minds of men. The discovery of the size and shape of the earth, and its relation to other bodies in space as well as of the immense distances in the heavens and the vast systems of worlds in space; the changes of men's ideas as to the center of the universe and the revelation that it was not the earth, but that the earth was only an insignificant member of a system whose center was the

sun—all served to teach men the uncertainty and instability of things they had been accustomed to regard as established beyond the peradventure of doubt, and led them to expect and prepared them to receive changes in other spheres of thought and realms of life. A spirit of skepticism became general and invaded even the Church, and everything seemed to converge upon and conspire toward a single point, until nothing could withstand the conjunction of forces which worked to free the human mind from bondage and the human spirit from thralldom.

How this struggle culminated in the Reformation and worked itself free at last we shall see in succeeding lectures. Suffice it to say, in closing, that the greatest blessings we now possess, the sanctity of our homes, our personal security and freedom, and the right to make the most of ourselves, have been secured to us as the result of that world-long struggle for religious liberty. The freedom of the press, the right of every man to worship God in his own way, the democratic principles of government, the right of a man as such, regardless of his place or position in the social scale, or of his worldly possessions, and the demand for absolute justice for all

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men, equality irrespective of race, sex or condition of life—these and many of the great principles now taking front rank among the objects devotedly to be sought in the twentieth century have been made possible to us by the Reformation.

comes Beginning with the struggle for religious liberty, that struggle ran on to compass the liberty of the whole man, and was destined not to stop until he was every whit free. It has already secured for us the liberty of conscience, the right of private judgment, political and personal freedom. But the end is not yet, and what it shall be no man knoweth. But as great and good men as ever fought in any cause fight still in these ranks, which are constantly increasing in numbers, in resoluteness, and in power.

LECTURE II.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN ENGLAND—WYCLIF TO CROMWELL.

The English Reformation divides itself naturally into three parts:

(1) From the days of Wyclif to those of Henry VIII., a period of about 150 years, or, in round numbers, from 1360 to 1530. That was a time of preparation.

(2) Then came a period of 120 years, or from 1530 to 1650; or from the act of the Royal Supremacy in England to the death of Charles I., when the fight of the Reformation was actually joined and its various parties were locked in the death grapple for the mastery; and

(3) The period from 1650 to 1688, when William of Orange landed and took possession of the crown, the final settlement upon an unassailable foundation of the actual work of the Reformation.

The results were: (1) the separation of England from the Papal See and its independence of all foreign power; (2) the establish-

ment of the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without fear of molestation from civil or ecclesiastical authority; (3) the securing of freedom for the individual conscience from all priestly intermeddling of any sort whatsoever; (4) the purging of the national church from superstitious practices, idolatrous worship and pagan doctrines; (5) the introduction of the use of the Scriptures as the basis of faith and practice and as the final court of appeal in all matters of doctrine; (6) the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular, and their distribution among the people, to be read without note or comment or any form of priestly prohibition.

✓ The actual events of the English Reformation lie within a period of about three hundred years, between the dates 1360 and 1660, to put it in round numbers. To England belongs the credit for the origin of the Reformation movement, and there its best results were secured. But the struggle was more prolonged in England and was less violent and dramatic than on the Continent. The heroic figure of Luther and the swift, violent, decisive character of the movement which he led have given to that phase of the Reformation a prominence and a fascination possessed

by no other, so that we usually speak of the whole movement as the German Reformation; but it was from England that Luther received his first impulse to his work. The writings of Wyclif had reached him by way of Bohemia through John Huss, the Bohemian martyr; and Luther never went quite so far in his work as Wyclif did in his.

The Struggle for Religious Liberty in England is the subject of our reflections this evening.

Great events move slowly and cast their shadows long before them. Wise and far-seeing minds are able to discern their coming from afar and to herald their approach. Great and noble spirits contribute to hasten their coming and often precipitate the events themselves. In England, in the fourteenth century, the ecclesiastical heavens were overcast with dark and ominous portents. The lightnings were playing along the horizon, and the deep-toned thunders were rolling which threatened a storm, distant as yet, but approaching and increasing in anger and violence as it moved. We hear its first deep muttering in the early English literature. William Langland, in his vision, "Piers the Ploughman," inveighs against the worldliness, the hypocrisy and the immoralities of the

monks, declares popes' pardons to be of small value, and exhorts men to lead righteous and pure lives. Chaucer, in his "Canterbury Tales," pilloried the mendicant orders in the "Pardoner," who comes from Rome laden with relics and wallet,

"Brim full of pardons come from Rome all hot,"

and who confesses that he preaches against "avarice and such cursedness," not in order that he may correct sin, but in order that men may give their pence unto him, for his object is to win. He heaps his scorn on the higher clergy, and in contrast draws a picture of a simple, faithful parish priest, rich in holy thought and work.

Eminent scholars and investigators departed from the ancient and traditional logic of the Schoolmen and started out in ways of their own to pursue knowledge and acquire learning. But William of Occam went farther. He not only declared theories of knowledge at variance with the traditions of the Schoolmen which had been adopted by the Church, but he attacked the claim of papal infallibility and the absurd pretensions of the pope to absolute power and universal rule.

By far the greatest actor, however, in this drama, and the man destined to take the leading part, was John Wyclif, Professor of Theology at Oxford and rector of Sutterworth. He was the greatest scholar of his time and the man of greatest weight in his day. It happened in the Reformation, as so often happens in the great movements in human affairs, that the men of studious habits and thoughtful lives were called upon to give impulse and direction to the men of action who fought the battles of progress and marched at the head of the advancing columns.

Wyclif, Huss, Savonarola, Luther, Calvin, Erasmus and Melancthon were all men of letters who preferred the scholarly seclusion of their studies to the active warfare of reform. The same is true of Cranmer and of John Milton. But the conditions of the times were such as demanded of these recluses the sacrifice of their preferences and an active participation in the affairs of life.

What, then, was the condition at this epoch of religious affairs in England? At the opening of the fourteenth century Christianity was practically a lost treasure, and the Christian life a lost art. The teachings of Christ had been so overlaid by foreign accretions, pagan

philosophies and superstitions, the Christian worship by pagan rites and ceremonies, and the example of Christ by the legendary lives of the saints, that the germs of the original truth were scarcely discernible in the midst of the rank growths of fiction and falsehood that choked and blighted it. Instead of fir tree, had come up the thorn; instead of myrtle, had come up the brier; and instead of the rose, had come up the thistle.

At that time about one-half of the wealth of the kingdom was in the hands of the Church and about two-thirds of its annual product of wealth, and the Pope derived from revenues out of England an annual income greater than that of the English Crown and much greater than that of the wealthiest Prince in Europe. The monastic orders had at first sprung up in protest against the sordidness and sensuality of the times, and the monasteries had, for a time, served as the cities of refuge for sensitive and aspiring souls who desired to escape from the contaminations of an evil world, and to give themselves up to a life of devotion and self-sacrificing service.

But the religious orders and the monasteries after a time outlived their original purpose and departed from it. They were in-

vaded by the spirit of the surrounding world. In earlier times, by their lives of toil, self-sacrifice, devotion and service, the monks had greatly endeared themselves to the people. Their pure lives, austere habits, exemplary industry and frugality had won the confidence of all classes of society. The rich remembered them in their wills generously. Princes richly endowed their houses, and the poor gladly shared with them their frugal fare. For nearly two hundred years the monastic orders were the sole teachers of the people in religion, in agriculture, in science, in literature, and in the arts. The monks were the scholars, the preachers, the authors, the metaphysicians, the theologians, the philosophers, the painters, the musicians and the statesmen of Christendom. Whatever works there were, were on the shelves of monastic libraries; and whatever learning there was, was sheltered within monastic cloisters. The monasteries were the arks which sheltered and carried the learning and the piety of Europe for almost a thousand years, and preserved them from being swept away by the flood of barbarism and illiteracy which prevailed in the Dark Ages.

By this great service they won the confidence, the loyal support and the deepest af-

fections of the people, but at length they came to trade upon this affection and betray it. The monks became idle, illiterate, sordid and self-indulgent. Dust gathered upon the books in their libraries, moth and mildew destroyed them. Priceless manuscripts were used for kindling fires—their value and their use alike having been forgotten—or they were used as palimpsests, and written over again with the fictions and legends of the Saints. The preaching of the Friars, which at the start had been salutary and stimulating, and was welcomed throughout England with a burst of popular enthusiasm, their work among the poor and the sick, their rescue work in the slums of the towns and cities, and their economic labors in draining marshes and reclaiming waste lands to tillage, and in improving the methods of agriculture, had all greatly endeared them to the people. Then came the period of prosperity for them, and with it riches and degeneracy. Marble halls supplanted their mud and wood huts; sumptuous fare their plain living; luxury and self-indulgence their simple lives of activity and devotion. It is said that in the year 1300 not only had two-thirds of the entire revenue-producing wealth of the whole kingdom passed into the hands of the monastic orders,

but that, incredible as it now seems, a sum five times greater than the income of the crown went every year to the coffers of the Vatican.

At the same time, the richest benefices and Bishoprics in England were held by Italians, and all ecclesiastics alike claimed immunity from the ordinary taxes of the realm. The usual method of procedure was somewhat as follows: A Black Friar or a Grey Friar arrived in town with his universal license to preach, for the monks were the peripatetic evangelists of those days. He rang the bell of the Parish church, and all who heard it assembled in the church or the church-yard to hear him preach. He then received the contribution of each in his open hand, and afterwards confessed those who so desired. The rite of confession carried with it a fee, and by means of the confessional he became possessed of the secrets of the people. For those who had committed any grave sins or heinous crimes preferred to confess to a travelling Friar rather than to the parish priest. He passed on and carried their secret with him; and to them it was as though it was not known. They escaped exposure and punishment, and thus a scandal arose in the land over the escape of great criminals and

the vast increase of crime throughout the realm. But, although the Friar passed on, and carried the secret with him, that secret was not forgotten. It was cherished by him and his associates in order for future use. And when the time arrived that the secret was of use and value to the order, it was used against the criminal. In that way the secrets of all the great families of Europe came into the possession of the monks, and gave them unlimited power. Under threat of exposure, they were able to extort moneys, lands, privileges or any other boon they chose to demand from nobles and princes, and to press into service the rich and the great. And so they swarmed like the plagues of Egypt, trespassing upon the most sacred precincts of private life, violating the most treasured sanctities of domestic privacy, infesting the nuptial chamber and the kneading troughs alike with their pestiferous meddling. Their preaching had degenerated into a mere exhibition of coarse jests and ribald buffoonery, so that they were the travelling clowns and actors of their day, in lieu of the circus and the players, and it all too often happened that their jest and buffoonery was scandalous and demoralizing; so that they fostered crime and encouraged vice.

It was at this juncture, when the church had sunk to the lowest depths of moral degeneracy and spiritual decay, that the voice of Wyclif was heard. It was at once the voice of a scholar, a philosopher, a saint and a statesman. Wyclif came as near being an independent reformer as it is possible to conceive of any man being. He seems not to have had any precursor. It is true that "Piers the Ploughman," William Langland, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon and William of Occam all preceded him. It is true that he owed much to these men for their earnest and uncompromising protests against abuses—especially to Occam for his strenuous efforts at church reform. But in his own way, Wyclif was compelled to blaze for himself a path through the dense forests of mediæval superstition and tyranny, and let in the light of truth upon soil from which it had been excluded for centuries. That was hard and hazardous work; but he performed his herculean labors with superhuman wisdom and power. No one could have predicted in the year 1350 that the spare, emaciated Oxford scholar, the greatest scholar of his time, prematurely aged at forty by his great labors, and very weak of body, would by his immense wisdom, his immovable conviction, unshaken integrity, his tireless en-

ergy, his dauntless intrepidity, his keen insight and irreproachable purity shake the existing institutions of society and systems of government and practices of religion to their foundations, and start such a rent within them as would prove irreparable and, slowly widening, bring them all in ruins to the ground at last. Yet that is just what he did.

The event that first called Wyclif from his lecture room at Oxford, where he had long been an object of great interest to the scholars of Europe, and whither students from all over Europe had flocked in great numbers to hear him lecture, occurred in 1365. A parliament was called in that year by Edward III., one of the greatest of English monarchs, to consider the bull of Urban V., in which he demanded of Edward the payment of a tribute said to have been incurred by the contemptible King John when he bought the favor of the papacy as against his barons, and when by his abject and grovelling submission to the Pontiff, he had shocked and shamed all England. England had never submitted tamely to the demands of the papacy; and this tribute had been permitted to lapse, so that it was greatly in arrears. The Statute of *Præmunire*, passed by Parliament in 1353, had prohibited the introduction or execution

of papal bulls within the realm; and the statutes of Provisors made it unlawful for the papal authorities to dispose of English benefices.

When the Parliament assembled it soon appeared that the representative of the University of Oxford, John Wyclif by name, the pale-faced and emaciated scholar, was the most clear-headed, far-sighted man among them. His wisdom and his prudence caused the reply to the papal bull to be committed into his hands. His reply is a noble document for its wisdom and courage. He begins with a statement of grievances, sharply arraigns the pope for his rapacities and robberies in England, and goes on to consider the abuses of the Church in England. That must have been startling and stimulating reading in the Vatican in that day of its most absolute power and insolent effrontery. It was a brave and daring thing for a man in those days to defy the pope, even if he were a king and had his country behind him.

But Wyclif did not stop with speaking anonymously under cover of Parliament. His soul was kindled and his mind fired by the conflict into which he now found himself plunged, and he girded himself to the work—and a strong work it was. He now went beyond

any of his predecessors in his attacks upon the papal claims and abuses, and laid his sharp axe at the root of the matter. He saw clearly the relation between the hierarchal abuses and the sacerdotal doctrines of the Church, and set himself to correct the latter in order to abolish the former. When he saw that no reforms were to be expected from the authorities, he went about that work himself strenuously. He appealed to the English people in their vernacular. He issued pamphlet after pamphlet in a language that everybody could understand; and he gathered about him, first at Oxford, and afterwards at Sutterworth, bands of young men whom he trained, and he taught them the Scriptures, and how to preach, indoctrinated them with his own principles and sent them forth among the people. They went everywhere, like Wesley's field preachers and the Salvation Army street preachers. In spite of the bitter persecution to which they were subjected, they continued to flourish until at one time it was said that every other man in England was a Lollard.

✓ He struck at sacerdotal doctrine as the root of ecclesiastical evils. He denied the doctrines of transubstantiation, of purgatory, of supererogation, of the invocation of the

saints, of confirmation and extreme unction; and of auricular confession. He denounced pilgrimages, indulgences, the use of images in worship, and other traditional practices. He made his appeal to the Bible as the ultimate authority in all questions of Christian faith and practice, and asserted the sacred rights of conscience, free from all priestly coercion or control in personal concerns. The character of the man appears in the calm, firm words with which he closes his reply to John of Gaunt, when he commanded him to be silent—"I believe that in the end the truth will prevail."

Wyclif undertook the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, and gathered about him a body of earnest-minded, pure-souled, heroic-spirited men like himself, whom he inspired with his own enthusiasm and taught his own great doctrines. The work of these men went on long after he was dead. They spread everywhere the knowledge of the Scriptures, and put the books of the Bible into the people's hands, and taught them to read. A people known as "The Lord's" arose, who were the result of that work—a God-fearing, Bible-reading, truth-loving people, who obeyed God and feared not man; and kept the altar fires of love to Him aflame

with their faith, even as with their bodies they fed the flames which illumined Smithfield, and made the place holy ground for liberty-loving Englishmen.

✓ The work of Wyclif discloses a man of immense and varied intellectual powers. He is the founder of our modern English tongue, the inaugurator of our modern English literature. He was a master of simple, sinewy, comprehensive prose, and first used the vernacular as a vehicle of conveying profound philosophic and religious truth to the people. At Sutterworth he prepared a new edition of the English Bible for the common people, which gave tone and character to English speech by its simple dignity and stately form. He was a bold and unsparing opponent of falsehood and corruption, an indefatigable reformer, and a skillful organizer of a new religious movement. In him there was a blending of many diverse qualities. He was like Luther in his boldness, fearlessness and force of character; in the sharpness of his irony and the power of his invective. He was like Melancthon in the thoroughness and ripeness of his scholarship. In personal charm, amiability of temper and finish of literary quality he resembled Erasmus; and was like Calvin in his dialectic skill, metaphysical acu-

men, restless energy, patient persistence, inflexible fortitude and the unsullied spirit of his life.

The effect of Wyclif's work appeared later on, when Henry VIII. came to his dispute with the papacy. Henry found the nation learned with Wyclif's doctrines and enlightened by the reading of the Scriptures. Whatever Henry's motives may have been in his break with Rome, there could be no doubt as to those which animated such men as Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley and their associates, and swayed the people. The universities were in a ferment with the new learning. Men like Erasmus and Colet had aroused the spirit of inquiry and fired the minds of students with an eager desire for learning; had opened the sources of information by translations of ancient documents and were guiding groping minds by their lectures and commentaries. Sir Thomas Moore wrote "Utopia," and gave England a most impressive lesson in the evils of her own time by furnishing her a standard of comparison in the imaginary state where justice, liberty and right prevailed. Hugh Latimer also was "laying his whole body into the bow," as he says his father taught him to do in archery, and, with an irresistible force, sending his swift-winged, fire-tipped, sun-

aimed arrows straight against the evils of the time from many pulpits. The children on the street cried after him, "Have at them, Master Latimer, have at them!"

✓ Wyclif's work had told at last. A majority of the people stood ready to support the King in a break with Rome. They might or might not approve of his motives and object; but they did approve of the fact itself. It is doubtful whether any such move could have been sustained earlier, or whether it could have been deferred much longer. Certain it is that the initial movement to it did not originate with the King or with his minister. Woolsey was driven from power, and Moore lost his head rather than sanction it. It was Cranmer who suggested that the King appeal from the Pope to the universities the question of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. And it was Cranmer who, on taking the office of Archbishop of Canterbury, set the example of revolt to the English clergy by declining to take the oath of allegiance to Rome and took the oath of the Royal Supremacy instead. He was the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury.

For there had now come a time of transition in England. The Romanist power was still strong, but waning; the Protestant in-

fluence was also strong, but not supreme, and the King was able to hold the balance of power and play off the one party against the other, as suited his interests or caprices. And that he did with such skill as to make himself absolute in all matters, both temporal and spiritual. He permitted the abuses of the Church to be corrected, but always to his own profit. Corrupt ecclesiastics were deposed and powerful ecclesiastic institutions suppressed, such as their courts of law and monasteries. These latter being immensely wealthy, had all their possessions confiscated to the crown, and so greatly enriched both the King and his favorites.

✓ In 1533 Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury, and in him Henry had a subtle and powerful ally, and the people a wise and judicious leader. He was a Protestant and a diplomat. He soon reached a stage in doctrine equal to that at which he had arrived in polity, and set himself diligently not only to translate the Bible but to compile also the English Prayer Book. This he did with the coöperation and assistance of Hugh Latimer and Master Ridley. At his suggestion and by his request, the objectionable features of the Roman Catholic doctrine and worship were discontinued in England. The refusal

of the Pope to confirm the decision of the universities in favor of the King's divorce led Henry to secure from Parliament the statute which severed the English Church from Rome by vesting its headship in the crown. That was the change in the English Church which Henry wanted, and it was the only change which either he or Elizabeth ever willingly endorsed.

During the brief reign of Edward VI., Cranmer was by far the most influential man in the kingdom, and his Protestant views became established, both at court and among the people, so that when Mary came to the throne and undertook to extirpate Protestantism in England with fire and sword, and sent Cranmer and his associates to the stake, she found that it would be necessary to depopulate the land and exterminate the nation in order to accomplish her designs.

Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, and held a middle course throughout her reign. Her bias, as it appears in several overtures to the Papal See, and in her wily vacillation between Protestant and Roman Catholic sympathies, was undoubtedly towards Romanism; but her personal interests kept her from openly deserting the Protestant cause. Throughout her long and eventful reign she

held a highly conservative and judicial course, which enabled the Protestant sympathies and tendencies of her subjects to take form and develop, and secured to the succeeding century the indestructible permanency of Protestantism in England and the leadership of England in the Protestantism of the world.

The later agitations and conflicts in England for a century and a half after Henry and Cranmer arose over those points not secured by the Reformation under Henry. The royal headship of the church—the connection between State and Church—was an offence to many. The demand arose for the substitution of the communion table for the altar. The use of any vestments whatever was strongly opposed; and later on the prayer-book was included in the protest, and finally Episcopacy itself was attacked.

✓ In the time of Elizabeth two parties arose to push the matter of church reform—the Puritans and the Separatists. The Puritans were Church of England men; did not desire to separate from it; but agitated for its reform. They were called Puritans because they wanted the church purified of its remaining abuses. They wanted a godly ministry, the observance of the Sabbath day as a holy day, not as a holiday, and a simpler form of

worship, such as was used by their Protestant brethren on the Continent. The opposition which these demands met drove some of the Puritans to a separation from the church and the creation of a new party known as the Separatists. They, like Wyclif, saw no hope of having their demands met, and so they set about the work of reform themselves, withdrew from the established church, and formed independent congregations of their own on the principles which they despaired of seeing enforced in the Establishment. These were the ecclesiastical ancestors of the Congregationalists in England and America. Them Elizabeth hated and persecuted with all her heart. She was never more than half a Protestant, and, as we know from her negotiations with Rome, was only prevented from becoming a Romanist openly by the refusal of the Papacy to recognize her title to the throne. In her own chapel she went as far as she could in observing the Romish ritual, and as far as she dared she showed her disapproval of all reforming tendencies in the church at large. But Elizabeth, like all the Tudors, was a diplomat, and used moderation and judgment in her dealings, so that the fruit of the Reformation born in Henry's time ripened and mellowed during her long and magnificent reign,

and was prepared for gathering in the following century.

One of the greatest misfortunes that ever befell a nation came upon England in the accession of the house of Stuart to the throne in the person of James I. He was a man of considerable intellectual ability and attainments, but of a mean and contemptible spirit. Brought up in Scotland, under the Presbyterian form of church life, he had conceived a deep and unalterable hatred for its strict discipline and high moral requirements. The Scottish clergy did not hesitate to rebuke their King for his drunkenness and denounce him for his licentiousness. But he found the English clergy hat in hand, obsequious and fawning. And along with his idea of the Divine right of Kings, he soon originated also the Divine right of Bishops. His well-known phrase was, "No Bishop, no King." In consequence of such declarations, a bishop declared James inspired of the Holy Ghost; and the doctrine of absolute and unqualified submission to the royal will began to be preached in the churches. All forms of dissent began to be hunted down with unsparing severity. Independent and thoughtful men foreboded disaster, and those who could began to quit Eng-

land. It was at that time that the Pilgrim Fathers went to Holland and afterwards came to America, and that the first Parliament called by James felt called upon to remonstrate with him, which they did, as follows: "Your Majesty would be misinformed if any man should deliver that the kings of England have any absolute power in themselves either to alter religion or to make any laws concerning the same otherwise than as in temporal causes by consent of Parliament;" and again: "Let your Majesty be pleased to receive public information from your Commons in Parliament as well of the abuses in the church as in the civil state and government." One would think that such a communication would serve as a gentle reminder to the King of the state of mind, the disposition and the temper of the people among whom he had come.

But there is a cast of mind which seems to be utterly oblivious to the effect of its own actions upon others. There are men who speak and act in such total disregard for other men's thoughts and feelings as to suggest an entire and total absence from them of anything like sympathy with or understanding of human nature. They are so absorbed in the workings of their own minds

that it never occurs to them to observe how the minds of other men work—self-centered men who are not only a law unto themselves, but who seek to make themselves a law unto others. Infatuated with their own personality, they assume the rôle of omniscience and infallibility. Such men, if they are placed in any position of authority and command, are tyrants; and if they, by any chance, come to the supreme power in a nation, they are despots. The Stuarts were men of that sort. In James I. and Charles II. the iron hand was gloved with the velvet of amiability and a ready, nimble, genial wit; but in Charles I. and James II. it lurked beneath a flimsy tissue of cold reserve, sphynx-like stupidity and clumsy falsehood, which was constantly revealing the designs it was meant to hide, as the stupidity of deception is always bound to do.

The state and church policy of James I. brought Charles I. into open conflict with the nation as represented in Parliament. With such ministers as Buckingham and Wentworth, and with Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury, who not only seconded him in his effort at absolutism, but went beyond him in every measure calculated to enslave the people and establish the throne in an impossible

despotism; and with a people like the English free-born, with centuries of freedom behind them, loving freedom more than life, and as determined to be free as the King was to be absolute, there could be but one issue to the strife, and that was the destruction of the one or the other party; and since the people were not of a kind to annihilate themselves, it meant finally the destruction of the King. But that was later, as we shall see. At first, after the accession of the Stuarts, despotism increased. The Star-Chamber took the place of Parliament, and the high commission took the place of ecclesiastical courts and convocations; the reign of tyranny was established. It was during that time that a young man named John Milton was prevented from taking orders in the church, because, as he said, "to take orders meant to subscribe yourself a slave," and it was then that he wrote his great protest "Comus"; and that Hampton sent a thrill of new life and hope through England by his resistance of the illegal levy and despotic collection of ship money. And when Parliament at last assembled, the threat of the King to dissolve it if it did not refrain from meddling with affairs of state and undoing the work of fifteen years of tyranny by declaring his acts illegal, and sending his ministers and

prelates to prison and the block, as it did in the cases of the chief of them, caused Parliament to pass a bill declining to be dissolved save by its own consent, and later another, in which it declared to the House of Lords, whose policy of obstruction came well-nigh undoing all the good work of the Commons, "The Commons will be glad to have your concurrence and help in saving the kingdom, but if they fail of it, it should not discourage them of doing their duty; and whether the kingdom be lost or saved, they shall be sorry that the story of this present Parliament should tell-tale posterity that in so great a danger and extremity the House of Commons should be enforced to save the kingdom alone." And although a warning voice was sounded in the ears of Charles to the effect, "They who go about to break Parliament are broken by Parliament," he turned a deaf ear to wisdom. He at once proceeded to raise troops by Royal commission to be used against Parliament, and Parliament in turn was forced to arms. Already the men had sailed from Dover with the crown jewels to buy munitions of war, and attempts were being made to raise an army in the North.

But even though controversy had taken the form of armed hostility, the Parliament was

reluctant to conquer. It did not want to conquer or humiliate its King. Essex and Manchester, who headed the Parliamentary army, were agreed in declining to come to a decisive battle with the Royal forces and so end the war. They thought to teach the King a lesson and bring him to his senses by showing him where the real power of the kingdom lay. And so they refused to take him captive when it was perfectly clear, both at Northampton and at Edge Hill, that they might easily do so. Charles interpreted their hesitancy as weakness and fear, and was the more resolved to fight. Although he had forbidden freedom of speech in Parliament, and had put its leaders in prison; although he had robbed his subjects disastrously and illegally imperilled their lives, they were still ready to forgive their King and restore him to favor on the slightest return of reason to its bereft throne. But Charles was as incapable of reason as he was of generosity or justice; and it was not until the battle of Naseby, when the King's baggage and all his papers were captured, and the depth of his perfidy was revealed in a conspiracy to bring in a Roman Catholic army, and his solemn promise to grant all the demands of the Roman Catholic party, that his fate was sealed.

Let us, however, go back a little. With Charles I. pandemonium had again returned to England and reigned supreme. He was at heart a Romanist, and was pledged to Louis XIV. of France to re-establish Roman rule in England.

His oath to maintain religious toleration in England was never kept nor meant to be. He played off the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians and the Independents against one another, and protected the Romanists as far as he dared; his unblushing sensuality, frivolous nature and trifling spirit outraged and exasperated the nation. James II., who succeeded him, was as cold-blooded and morose as Charles had been good-natured and frivolous; but no less a sensualist and far more wrong-headed and obstinate. A fatal Nemesis in the form of short-sightedness, wrong-headedness and obstinacy, together with a total inability to learn by experience, attended the Stuart race from the beginning, brought them into increasingly greater difficulties, as though by the design of some evil genius; and finally made an end of them. So malignant and unrelenting was James in his determination to re-establish Romanism, that he placed in the Chief Justiceship the brutal tool known to history as the "Bloody Jeffries"—who was also placed at

the head of the illegal High Commission—who went everywhere in England, shutting up in prison, hanging, beheading, and burning the noblest, the ablest, the most virtuous, and the most loyal subjects on the flimsiest of pretences, because they were not found conformable to the Royal will in the matter of re-establishing Romanism in the land. His persistent attempt to subvert the Protestant religion brought at length upon James a just judgment. The people were unreconcilably alienated from him and his house. Twice he fled for his life, and the second time before the advancing army of his son-in-law, William of Orange, who, at the invitation of the people, came over from Holland, where he was Stadtholder, to share the throne with his wife; and Protestantism was at last firmly and incontestably established in England. On his accession the Act of Toleration secured practical religious liberty to England. The Romanists were excluded from its privileges, it is true, but that was due more to political than to religious causes; for they formed a small but resolute political party under a religious guise bent on the subversion of English liberties and constitutional government. The welfare of the state demanded that they be held in check; but it was unfortunate, and their own

fault, that pressure had to be brought to bear on the side of religion. But the real issues of the Reformation had been established and fixed, and it required only a century of peace and justice so to work them out that they would appear at their real value to all men, even as they did in the latter part of the eighteenth century by statute laws, when religious disabilities were removed.

At Marston Moor, however, a new force and a new man appeared. It was the first appearance on any battlefield of a brigade which was to grow into an army, was to be known as the "Ironsides," and was never to know defeat on any battlefield. The general of these brave men was one Cromwell, a Yorkshire farmer of some means, and of a famous ancestry. His forbears had sat in the Parliaments of Elizabeth, and himself in those of James. On his mother's side, he was connected with the Hampdens, and with Sir John Oliver. When his father died, he was a student at Cambridge; but returned home to take up the duties of head of the family.

Oliver Cromwell saw that the fight was not between the King and his Parliament, but between warring and irreconcilable religious factions. A religious principle was at stake. It was a moral, not a civil issue. And so, on his

own responsibility, and at his own expense, Cromwell raised a regiment of one thousand, every one of them picked according to his view; which was, as he wrote to Hampden, that religious enthusiasm alone could meet and defeat the Cavaliers. In other words, they were not mercenary troops, not soldiers of fortune; neither were they the idlers and stragglers and adventurers of the city. They were, on the contrary, sturdy and substantial yeomen, neighbors of their general, and of his religious persuasion and austere manner of life. They were "men of religion," as Cromwell called them, who adventured their earthly all for their convictions, and looked for nothing in return but freedom of conscience and liberty to worship God according to their convictions. Such men were greatly to be feared in a religious war. They could forgive Charles that he had taxed them contrary to the law and even oppressively; that he had interfered with the freedom of speech in Parliament, and put its leaders in the Tower; and that he threatened the personal liberty and the lives of every subject who disagreed with him; and three-fourths of his subjects did so disagree with him, and were so threatened by him. But they could not forgive him that he should set himself in the

place of God to them, and seek to make his will and the wills of his court favorites, Buckingham, Wentworth and Laud, supreme, and above the will of God. When they saw that to be his purpose, they rose in a body and said with Elliot, "Danger enlarges itself in so great a measure that nothing but Heaven shrouds us from despair." "The Gospel," said Elliot, in a speech in Parliament, "is that truth in which this kingdom has been happy in a long and rare prosperity. This ground, therefore, let us lay for a foundation of our building, that that truth, not with words, but with actions, we will maintain:" and the following: "there is a ceremony used in the Eastern churches of standing at the repetition of the creed, to testify the purpose to maintain it, not only with their bodies upright, but with their swords drawn—give me leave to call that a custom very commendable."

If the infatuated and obdurate Charles had but had ears, he would have heard in those and similar speeches from Elliot and Hampden and Vane; from Cromwell and Sells and Pym; from Sidney and Victor Hollis and Strode and Haselrig, words of warning; and had he but had wisdom, he would have taken knowledge in time of the temper and spirit of the people.

The success of Cromwell led to a reorganization of the Parliamentary army on his basis, which was called the new model, and his daring brought him rapidly to the front. At Newbury, the King might have been captured; but Manchester declined, and Cromwell accused him to Parliament of "being afraid to conquer," and he declared, "If I met the King in battle, I would fire my pistol at the King as at another." There was a new basis on which to fight. That was the beginning of the end. In less than a year's time Naseby was fought to win, the King's forces were broken, his troops surrounded, his baggage, papers and ordnance fell into the hands of Parliament. Charles took refuge with the Scots, who, in turn, handed him over to Parliament. The army of the New Model ordered to disband, Cromwell returned to the pursuits of peace. The army, instead, however, of disbanding, as ordered by Parliament, lay, as it were, with arms, to watch the course of affairs; and when it saw that Parliament was bent on despotism, just as the King had been, and would force Presbyterianism on the country, as he had tried to force Catholicism, it rallied to Triploe Heath, and raised the cry of justice. Civil war broke out afresh; but there were now three parties to

fight—the King, Parliament and the army. Cromwell now returned to the army, and in three days it was in full march upon London, with a demand for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom, the preservation of the rights and liberties of the subjects, the freedom of conscience, and religious toleration secured. These demands neither Parliament nor the King were minded to grant; but each in his own way was determined to subvert. The army finally took possession of London and of the Parliament, and proceeded to negotiate with the King on a basis of great moderation. Charles, however, was dead to all appeals. He temporized and evaded. “Playing off,” as he wrote to a friend, “one party against the other,” until the soldiers, exasperated and suspicious, cried out for a complete reorganization of the government, the abolition of the House of Lords and of monarchy. In the crisis Cromwell stood alone, insisting upon negotiations with the King and the most conservative measures.

During all this time Charles was endeavoring to embroil the English and the Scotch, hoping to get advantage of the army in that way; and finally, becoming impatient, he took flight while the negotiations were at their height. Cromwell found that he had been

duped, and wrote, "The King is a man of great parts and great understanding, but so great a dissembler and so false a man that he is not to be trusted." Civil war now broke out afresh, and with its coming all thought of reconciliation with the King was swept from the minds of the army and its leaders. They gathered in a solemn prayer-meeting, and entered into a solemn resolution and covenant, "that it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again to peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for the blood he has shed and the mischief he has wrought to his utmost against the Lord's cause and the people in this poor nation."

In the midst of the turmoil and strife, Cromwell appears as the commanding genius, the presiding spirit of the nation—the real king of England. The boldness of his policy, and the celerity of his movements, confounded and defeated all opposition. It was a time when lawlessness was rife in England. A half century of misrule and other disregard for law on the part of the King and his ministers, together with their strenuous and stubborn attempts to break down all constitutional restraints upon the throne, had made England drunk with the usurpation of powers, and mad with defiance of law. A certain recklessness

had seized all the classes of the people, and in the midst of the wreck of law and order the question for each party became that of actual power. All rights and privileges were in abeyance. Cromwell had the power and the ability to use it. He seized the King, and then marched upon London. A court was formed for the trial of the King, who denied its jurisdiction. He was none the less found guilty, at the mouths of thirty-two witnesses, and condemned to death, as a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and enemy of his country. And thus was brought to pass the saying of "They who go about to break Parliaments are sure to be broken by them."

Parliament now proceeded to appoint a Council of State, to take the place of the King, then to abolish the House of Lords, and then to establish a free state, with the authority of the nation vested in "The representatives of the people in Parliament." The army proceeded to lay down the program of procedure, insisted upon the dissolution of the old Parliament and the election of a new one, on the basis of a redistribution of seats, such as would give representation to all towns of importance, and election to all house-holders even among the poor. The House accepted the proposal, but hesitated to

disband. Disorders arose in the army in consequence. Charles II. soon landed upon the coast of Scotland, and Cromwell, who had meanwhile wreaked summary justice in Ireland, started for the North, spreading a wholesome respect for the army as he marched. At Dunbar and Winchester, he routed the Loyalist forces and cut them to pieces, and sent Charles flying once more across the seas. But Parliament still reigned, and meditated measures for the disbandment of the army, in spite of its pledges to disband itself. It even, in the person of Sir Harry Vane, introduced a bill for the continuance of its own members in the next Parliament, with the right of revision of all elections reserved to them. In other words, it was trying to make of itself a self-perpetuating body, with the supreme power in its own hands. It was while Sir Harry Vane was pressing this bill upon the House, in spite of a compact made the evening before with the Council of State, that neither side should do anything without another conference, that Cromwell exclaimed, when he heard of it, "This is perfidy!" and summoning thirty musketeers to follow him, went to the House. He sat through Vane's speech, and at the moment of putting the motion to the House, he rose and spoke against the bill. He waxed

warm as he spoke of the injustice, self-interest and delay of the Commons, and finally cried out, "Your hour is come!" Then, amidst an uproar, he clapped his hat upon his head, and advanced to the middle of the floor, his voice rising above the tumult, he was heard to cry: "The Lord hath done with you! Come, come, we have had enough of this. I will put an end to your prating. It is not fit that you should sit here any longer; you should give place to better men; you are no Parliament." And as the musketeers entered, at a signal from their general, he called to the members as they passed him such invectives as their conduct merited, and to Vane's protest he cried out: "Ah, Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane, you might have prevented all this, but you are a juggler, and have no common honesty! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!"

When all had departed, and Cromwell had sent the men away, he locked the door of the chamber, and put the key in his pocket. He next proceeded to disperse the Council of State, and so was left as Captain-General of the forces, solely responsible for the order of the realm. He had committed violence against the Rump Parliament, as it was called; but he had prevented them from a far greater

act of violence, that of disfranchising half of England. And the country at large accepted and applauded his act. "We did not hear a dog bark at their going," he said afterwards. The power, thus left in Cromwell's hands, was used wisely and well, without a trace of the military despot or self-created dictator. A new Council of State was appointed, with Cromwell at its head, and it proceeded to summon a new Parliament. A constituent convention was called, to which was deputed the task of settling the manner of calling a new Parliament, which, after floundering and drifting about in the shoals and quicksands of debate for six months, died of exhaustion, and yielded up into the hands of the Lord General the powers he had deputed to them at their coming together. The Council of State and of Officers then proceeded to convene a Parliament on a reform basis of representation. They meanwhile drew up a constitution for government, and named Cromwell Protector of the Commonwealth, which office he accepted only on the ground that it limited his powers and made him responsible to the Council, and so took away the responsible dictatorship which attached to his position of Lord General of the Army. This provision was generally acceptable to the

English people, and the Parliament which met confirmed it. But Cromwell, not satisfied with the proceedings of the Parliament, dissolved it, and proceeded to govern with the Council of State. In order to do this, he had to resort to high-handed measures, which brought him into open conflict with ancient laws, and not seldom with the will of the people. He resumed, deliberately, a dictatorship which he had previously voluntarily resigned, and resolutely declined. That he did so for sufficient reasons, we cannot doubt. He probably saw that Parliament was unable to cope with the situation. Their discordant councils and dilatory methods were calculated to keep the country in turmoil, and embroil it in new difficulties. The manner in which he used his power, and the evils which befell the nation, when his strong hand no longer held the helm, must be his justification. He assumed the reins of government when England was at her lowest ebb as a nation, rent by internal factions and beset by foreign foes; the government disorganized and disbanded, the army unpaid and mutinous. He created a government *de novo*, assumed the responsibility for the administration, united and harmonized the three kingdoms, suppressed insurrection and revolt, stamped out incendi-

arism, and made favorable treaties with foreign powers ; all in the course of a few months. He pacified the State, so that the ravages of war were soon forgotten. Prosperity set in in full force. Reforms were everywhere instituted, order restored throughout the kingdom, the laws respected and obeyed. The civil courts were reformed and reorganized on a basis of religious toleration and an educated and Godly ministry. In a word, the land had rest, and prospered as it had never done before.

Cromwell's foreign policy equalled the vigor and enterprise of his home office. He aimed at nothing short of placing England at the head of a great Protestant alliance. To this end, he concluded treaties with Holland, Sweden and Denmark. When the Duke of Savoy ruthlessly massacred his Protestant subjects in the Valleys of Piedmont, he sent his army with stern demands of redress, and the promise of instant war if the demands were not met. Ten thousand men stood ready to descend from the Swiss Alps upon the north of Italy at the signal from the Lord Protector of England. He was able to protect a Protestant or a subject of England in any part of Europe as well as at home, for his power was feared from the Atlantic to the

Black Sea, and from the Arctic to the Mediterranean. Never had England been so firmly or so finely governed, and never did a king use his power and state with more wisdom and grandeur than did Cromwell. A second Parliament, called in 1657, pressed upon him the title of king, after it had confirmed and commended his rule; but that he steadily declined. They empowered him, however, to name his successor, and when, three years later, he died, worn out with labors and disease, so great was his power still that a reported nomination which lacked confirmation was sufficient to set his son, Richard, firmly and indisputably in his seat, and would have maintained him there if there had been anything in him to maintain. But Richard, being what his father would have called a man of straw, practically left the office vacant; and, there being no head to the government or the army, it fell, without a struggle, into the hands of the Royalists, and Charles II. returned to England without a blow and occupied the palaces and the thrones of his ancestors, remarking as he did so, with characteristic wit, that it was his own fault he had not done so long before, since everybody he saw assured him that they had always wished him there.

Cromwell was a born ruler of men, and possessed all the strange, mysterious powers by means of which one man is able to mould a nation into conformity and likeness with himself. He was a man of mighty spirit, capacious understanding, indomitable will, and absolute fearlessness. He had an intense nature, quick, urgent, powerful, undeniable impulses, a large resolute purpose, and a strong, indefatigable body.

The wisdom, power and grandeur of Cromwell's rule, together with its justice, magnanimity and beneficence, is its own best justification. He was the most absolute and despotic ruler England ever had; but England never enjoyed greater liberty than under his reign. He called the learned and enlightened John Milton to be his secretary. He stoutly maintained religious liberty, equality of justice, the incorruptibleness of the courts, the personal freedom and security of every citizen. Peace, prosperity and happiness reigned in England as it had not done even under Elizabeth. While there was some opposition, the great mass of the people supported him joyfully. Abroad, his name was dreaded. He set himself at the head of the Protestant interests in Europe, protected his brethren from persecution and adopted con-

ciliatory measures. His ships, under the command of his friend, Blake, swept the Mediterranean free of pirates and bombarded Algiers, their stronghold. He secured the island of Jamaica in the West Indies, and that gave him a base of naval operations against Spain in America; and when he died, the weak and contemptible son who succeeded to his office without opposition, might have held it in his father's name if he had had a tithe of his father's worthiness.

LECTURE III.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN GER- MANY—LUTHER, THE HERO OF THE REFORMATION.

On the left bank of the Rhine, about half-way between the cities of Maintz and Heidelberg, is the little city of Worms. It has no present political or commercial interest for the world; but its historic importance is of the first order, for here was enacted one of the great events of the world, which "lifted empires off their hinges and turned the channels of history from their courses."

A massive and magnificent monument explains that event, and stands near the spot where it took place. On a broad, central platform, each on its own pedestal, in heroic size, sit the figures of Wyclif, Huss, Savonarola and Peter Waldo, the forerunners of Reformation. Above them are Frederick the Wise, Phillip the Generous, Melancthon the Scholar, and Reuchlin the Humanist. Below them are the allegorical figures of the cities of Marburg, Augsburg and Speyer. There are also

medallion portraits of Luther's contemporaries who contributed to the Reformation, and the arms of the twenty-four towns that first received it. Towering above all, on the central pedestal, is the heroic figure of Luther himself, an open Bible in his left hand, with his right laid emphatically upon it, while courage and faith, the two qualities for which he was most remarkable, are admirably depicted upon his face.

Massive and grand as this monument is in itself, its chief interest for the American Protestant is in the event which made it appropriate to this spot, and the four centuries of history which it summarizes.

On the 17th day of May, 1521, if you had been in Worms, as was all Germany that could get there, and much of Europe besides, you might have witnessed the grandest spectacle of history (save only that which took place in Pilate's hall fifteen hundred years before and which made this one inevitable) and the most important event for the world since that day.

The Diet or assemblage of the empire was in session. It was composed of the dignitaries and notables, lay and ecclesiastic, of Christendom. This particular assemblage was one of the most remarkable that had ever

been held. It was called for a particular purpose, then of the most vital interest to Europe—the condemnation of heresy and the burning of heretics, at that time quite numerous and bold in Germany, of whom one Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk, was the chief offender. There was the Emperor Charles V., the practical owner of all Europe and America, to whom Germany was but a small province, and on his right his brother, Archduke Ferdinand. They were surrounded by a brilliant retinue of kings, princes and nobles from all parts of Europe, and the most famous and powerful of the ecclesiastical princes—the Pope himself being represented by special envoys. Luther's own sovereign, Frederick the Wise, was there, and in all about five thousand persons, of high degree and of every rank, representatives of sovereigns and delegates of imperial cities, were gathered in and about the hall. About four o'clock in the afternoon you might have seen, being led through back streets and by a circuitous route, so as to avoid the press and be able to reach the hall, a tall, spare man, in a monk's habit of the Dominican order. Now, the out-of-the-way streets through which he passes unexpectedly are lined with silent spectators and crowded with people. At last he

reaches the hall and stands uncovered in the presence of the brilliant throng, at the call of the herald, to answer the charge of heresy and disloyalty to the Church of Rome.

He is a plain and humble man, about thirty-eight years of age, and, as can be seen by his demeanor, not accustomed to such an assemblage. He is dazed and bewildered by the experience he has just passed through and the spectacle that now surrounds him. He carries himself with dignity and self-restraint, but he asks for time. He is not prepared to answer the unexpected charges, nor to comply with the extraordinary request. There is a soldier-like bearing and a sense of suppressed energy in his frame, and a strange, unusual light in his eyes as he addresses the assemblage—a light which one of the papal emissaries had once seen there in the cloister at Erfurt and warned the prior to have a care for that monk, for he was bound to make trouble.

The same scene was repeated at the same hour on the following day, but with a far different ending. A complete set of Luther's writings was piled upon the table before him, and he was asked to recant them each separately and by name. He rose to address the council.

He speaks in German and in Latin. His voice is strong and manly, and rings in every part of the great hall. His speech is rapid, but clear and distinct. He quotes from the Fathers, the Scriptures and the records of councils, and shows himself a master in the subtleties of theology and philosophy. He divides his works into three classes: (1) Those upon faith and morals, based upon the Scriptures. These he could not retract. (2) Those upon the Papacy and its doings, which he said had ruined Christendom, body and soul. These he must not retract. (3) Those which he had written against certain opponents of his. These he would not retract. But in all he stood ready, if any one would prove his error from Scripture, to retract.

The papal delegate, unable to endure longer the boldness of the monk, rose and declared they were not there to hear matters discussed that had already been settled, and demanded that he give them a plain answer—"Yes or no! without any horns. Do you recant?" "Well, then," replied the imperturbable monk, "if your Imperial Majesty and your Graces require a plain answer, I will give you one without either horns or teeth. It is this: I must be convinced, either by the witness of Scripture or by clear argument, for I do not

trust either Pope or councils by themselves, since it is manifest that they have often erred and contradicted themselves."

The brilliant assemblage was dazed and confounded by such language, for they had never heard it in that wise before; and the Emperor gave the signal to end the matter. Luther, supposing that his own end had come when he saw the signal, exclaimed: "Here stand I. I can do naught else. God help me. Amen."

The Emperor sat silent and abashed upon his throne. The papal envoys fumed with rage, but were silent and baffled. The hearts of the great assemblage were thrilled, and they were awed into silence; a great hush fell upon them, like the stillness of death. Hundreds of eyes, unused to tears, were moistened, and hundreds of young hearts, not accustomed to serious emotions, leaped with a bound of joy, withal with sympathy and purpose of protection for the simple, honest, fearless, godly monk.

Luther walked out of that assemblage free from danger. He seemed to live something like what, in superstitious days, was known as a charmed life. Though a price was set upon his head, and armed assassins went about in bands to take him, and the papal

representative in every city was charged to apprehend him, and the force of the empire itself was enlisted to compass and secure his death, yet he walked openly among men and did his work, preaching where he would, for twenty-five years, and died a natural death at last at Eisleben, the place of his birth.

The thrill that ran through the assembly at these words passed over Germany like the shock of an earthquake, and divided the nation into two religious factions. Two-thirds of the Pope's spiritual children were lost to him in that hour, and the Roman Catholic Church has not been able to recover from that shock. A new epoch in the world's history then began.

Let us consider now some of the events that led up to the council at Worms. In the month of November, 1483, or just about 420 years ago, there was born in Eisleben, of John and Margaret Luther, peasants, a son, who was shortly after baptized by the parish priest as Martin Luther. He was baptized according to the rites of the Romish Church. There was no other then anywhere in Europe. His parents were poor, God-fearing, pious folk, as his ancestors were known to have been such three generations back, and, after the fashion of their day, they were

strictly religious, according to the faith of the Romish Church. They reared their son in the same faith, with a rigor and remorselessness that made a deep impression upon his youth and somewhat saddened his sensitive spirit; but he was of a robust nature, and perhaps needed to be kept well within bounds. His whole career shows him to have been by nature of a fiery, fearless, impetuous, headlong temper, kept in bounds only by reason of the severe and unrelenting training and discipline to which he subjected himself. This part of the work his parents seem to have begun for him, and taught him how to do for himself. They were wise as well as severe with their son, for they discerned in him marks of promise which caused them to destine him for a university education, with all that meant of labor and self-denial for themselves. His father was a poor miner, and it required heroic self-sacrifice on the part of them all to keep the oldest son at school and send him to the university. But that is what they did.

He was brought up an orthodox Catholic, and was of a devout disposition. At the age of fourteen he wanted to make a pilgrimage to Rome, as a means of expiating his sins; but his father had destined him for a lawyer or other profession, and had no patience what-

ever with Martin's leaning toward a religious life, so that when the crisis came, as it did, in 1505, it resulted in a complete rupture between father and son.

That was a fateful year for the world. Luther was a devout and scrupulous man. He assumed the religious life for the purpose of being a religious man. He had studied law and was not interested in it. He had studied medicine, and took no interest in that. He had found a Bible at Erfurt, and had become engrossed in that, and be a monk he would and give his time to that. Being what he was, Luther could not be anything by halves. Had he stuck by the Catholic ecclesiasticism of his youth, he would probably have risen to the highest dignity in the Church, for he was, of all the men of his age, and it was a great age, a born leader of men. He had a commanding genius, which was destined either to lead the world in its chosen paths, or to dig out new channels for the world's life to flow in.

At the age of twenty-five he had already become a marked man, and was called to a chair of the University of Wittenberg and to the pulpit of its great church. He became at once the idol of the students who thronged his lectures, and of the populace, who crowded the church to the chancel rail whenever he preached.

Now that was a strange age and one fermenting with intellectual and physical activity, as no other age that preceded it had ever been; and it was also characterized by ecclesiastical profligacy beyond any other age. You will recall that it was the age of Erasmus and Raphael and Michael Angelo and Albert Dürer; the age of Columbus and Vasco Da Gama. It was a period of inventions and discoveries. The art of printing by movable types had just been established. The discovery of gunpowder had revolutionized the art of war and, by making every peasant equal to a knight, had overthrown the order of knighthood. The discovery of new continents in a new hemisphere and the invention of the magnetic compass had opened an entirely new field for human activity and a new door for human liberty. Copernicus had explored the heavens with his telescope and discovered the true order of the universe. Descartes had added to the liberty and richness of human thought. The crusades had opened up the eastern world to exploration and commerce. Industries had greatly increased in consequence and commerce extended its sphere. The writings of ancient sages, long buried in ancient eastern monasteries, had been unearthed and brought into use. The several

nationalities of Europe were crystallizing and taking form. France and Italy, Spain and England, had already laid the foundations for a national life.

In the midst of all this movement in so many directions for the betterment of mankind and the permanent improvement of the race, one institution alone remained stationary, untouched by the flow of intellectual and political influences of quickening and awakening all about her, and that institution was the hierarchy at Rome. The new life was felt in all her monasteries and universities throughout Europe, and its impulse and direction came from them; but Rome, the Papacy, was untouched. She sat secure in her splendor and wealth, and cared not. But she did want money; and money she must have, for St. Peter's was building and vast improvements were being constantly made at the Vatican; besides, Leo X. was upon the papal throne, a profligate and spendthrift of the most prodigal type. In order to keep up a steady and voluminous flow of coin into the coffers of the Vatican, a new and ingenious device had been invented by Pope John XXII., of infamous memory. He had originated the sale of indulgences and the system of taxation for every sin. This system Innocent VIII. had perfected by inventorying

every sin and scheduling it with a fixed price. Immunity could be purchased from purgatory for the sins of sensuality at 12 ducats, of sacrilege at 9 ducats, of murder at 7; for murder of parents or kin, 4 ducats. The indulgence consisted of a ticket, on which was printed the figure of a monk, with cross, crown of thorns and flaming heart. In the upper right-hand corner there was a nailed hand of the Saviour; in the lower left a foot. On the front were the words: "Pope Leo X. Prayer. This is the length and breadth of the wounds of Christ. As often as one kisses it, he has seven years indulgence." How much he would have had to pay for that offense under the term sacrilege deponent saith not.

These tickets were deposited with various bankers throughout Europe, and in the less populated regions they were hawked about in carts, like cabbages, by monks and priests, and sold by the millions.

Between the years 1500 and 1517, five extraordinary issues of indulgences were made, and the text of those who hawked them was, "God willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he shall pay and live." They hung such notices on their carts as this: "The red indulgence cross, with the Pope's arms suspended on it, has the same virtue as the cross

of Christ. The dealer in pardons saves more souls than Peter."

Thus the sacrilege went on until it became madness. The people of Europe, but especially of Germany at that time, were steeped in ignorance, in superstition, and in licentiousness. Nevertheless, they had hearts and consciousness, and desired the favor of God and the hope of heaven, and they knew no other way to get them than to buy the indulgences the Church offered them. The Bible had never been read in their hearing, nor had any religious service ever been performed among them in a tongue that they understood. They were harangued from time to time from the pulpits by drunken and licentious priests, but always in the interests of the superstitions being perpetrated upon them for the sake of gain, and, knowing themselves to be sinful, they actually believed that the purchase of these indulgences would purchase for them the pardon for which they longed. Hence they thronged about the indulgence carts whenever they appeared, and these clumsy vehicles fairly groaned under the weight of gold they carried to the strongholds of the Church.

Among these sacrilegious traffickers there were none so brazen and shameless as one

Tetzel, a sub-commissioner of the Archbishop Albert of Maintz, within whose jurisdiction lay the city of Wittenberg, where at that time Luther was stationed. Said Archbishop was not deeply trusted in money matters by those who knew him best, nor did he himself trust his emissaries in finance, perhaps from a kindred feeling. At any rate, it was stipulated that the proceeds from the sale of indulgences in his diocese should be equally divided between himself and the Pope, and that its safe-keeping and division should rest with the agents of the banking house of Augsburg. Thus escorted and equipped, the shameless Tetzel, a Dominican monk, went his rounds; but no sooner had he got well started than a warning voice was lifted in the pulpit at Wittenberg, cautioning the people against the robbery and the imposture and warning them to have nothing to do with the infamous business. At the same time the preacher, for it was Luther, wrote earnestly to the Archbishop and the Pope, begging them to desist from the evil and to call off their emissaries. One letter followed another, entreating, beseeching, praying in the name of God and Christ, that the evil be stopped; but all to no purpose.

Tetzel drew near to Wittenberg, and Lu-

ther, in despair, sat down and wrote out his reasons against the iniquity—ninety-five in number—and in the form of propositions, and challenged the world to debate them, in order to free his own conscience and gain further light upon the subject. Early on the morning of October 31, 1517, the sound of a hammer was heard on the church door of Wittenberg, as Martin Luther, with his own hand, nailed the document containing his ninety-five propositions against the sale of indulgences to the door of the church, waking the echoes within and resounding deep in the hearts of multitudes who gathered to see what was going on.

The document was read, and its contents began to spread and be discussed. When at length Tetzel set up his shop at Leipsic, near Wittenberg, he found a cool reception for himself and no market for his indulgences. Great indignation was aroused among the hierarchy. Efforts were made to remonstrate with Luther, but he would have nothing short of a cessation of the abominable traffic and a repudiation of what he termed “the indulgence preacher’s shameless and wanton words.”

Then he was summoned to answer for his words at Augsburg. Then he wrote his cele-

brated letter, "An Appeal from the Pope badly informed to the Pope well informed."

As this had no effect, he appealed from the Pope to a council. The result was that Miltitz, a celebrated diplomatist, was dispatched from Rome to see Luther and patch up the quarrel, for the Pope, the elegant voluptuary, Leo X., considered the matter to be nothing but, as he said, "a squabble of monks." Miltitz addressed himself to the task with great skill, disavowed the actions of the vendors of indulgences, and agreed that if Luther would say nothing more about the matter, the objectionable practice should be stopped.

There were two clauses in the agreement:

1. Both parties are forbidden to preach or write on the subject, or to take any further action upon it.
2. The exact position of affairs is to be communicated to the Pope, and a learned bishop will be appointed to investigate the points at issue and report.

That was a flag of truce, you see, as between two equal powers.

Abroad, Luther was a power that had to be reckoned with. For far less than he had done Huss had been burned. Then said Luther, "Let them convict me of my error, and I will retract, and not till then." But the papal authorities having secured, as they thought, Lu-

ther's silence, proceeded to take advantage of it by opening a discussion at Leipsic between Eck, a celebrated scholar and debater, and Carlstadt, a man somewhat infected with Luther's views. Luther was wise enough to discover the ruse at once. He writes: "The wrong-headed fellow is fuming against me and my writings, but he challenges some one else as his adversary and attacks him. But this discussion will turn out badly for the Roman claims and usages, and they are the staffs upon which the Church is leaning."

He at once made his way to Leipsic and joined in the discussion, but with little practical result, except the easy overthrow of his antagonist in argument.

In despair of accomplishing anything through the Church or its authorities, he turns now to the German people. He tells the princes that they must take the work of reform into their own hands; that it belongs to them; and that God will hold them responsible for it; that the people constitute the Church and not the priests, and the authority rests with them.

He attacked the Catholic doctrines of transubstantiation and asceticism and emphasized the necessity of Christian liberty.

One step followed another in quick succes-

sion at this period of Luther's development. He had no intention whatever of breaking with the Church, but was determined upon its reform, and, as he said, he "would sooner die, be burned, be banished, be anathematized," than yield.

With all his greatness, Luther was not a prudent man. His contempt of all expedients for his own safety, and bold daring in the face of danger, constantly exposed him and his cause to the plots and conspiracies of his unscrupulous foes. Had there not been a watchful eye always on him, a solicitous and resourceful mind on the alert, and a powerful arm always extended over him, he would doubtless have gone the way of Savonarola and Huss, as Henry VIII. told him that he would, and as the edict of the Diet of Worms declared that he should. But the good and wise Frederick took care of the monk, and saw to it that no harm befell him. Knowing the temper of the man, he knew better than to offer him an asylum; but when his enemies were lying in wait for him on his way home from Worms, the Elector had his retainers fall upon him in the road and carry him off bodily to his strong castle, the Wartburg, where he managed to hold him until the danger was past. The loyalty of this great prince to the

blunt and outspoken monk, in spite of the reprimands he sometimes administered to him, is beautiful and touching.

While Luther was in the Wartburg troubles arose in Wittenberg among his followers, the more intense and extreme of whom had become fanatical and were making themselves ridiculous by their extravagances. Luther could not see the cause so near his heart jeopardized or disgraced by violence and fanaticism—he was himself an ardent enthusiast—but blind fanaticism was abhorrent to him, and he saw at once that the attempts of the fanatics violently to sweep away the ancient usages and customs of religion would react harmfully upon the effort at reform, so he left the castle, where he was under guard, and returned to his pulpit to set things right, and he risked his life in so doing.

The Elector warned him that he could not protect him in Wittenberg, and Luther replied, “Since I now perceive that your Electoral Grace is still very weak in the faith, I can by no means regard your Electoral Highness as the man who is able to shield or to save me.” And so he assures him not to fear for him, for that he goes forth under a far higher protector than his own, and that he was engaged in a cause not to be aided by the sword.

The incident is a tribute not only to Luther's simplicity of faith, but also to the Elector's greatness and loftiness of mind, for he never relaxed his vigilance for Luther's safety nor resented, in the slightest degree, what to some men would have seemed like gross ingratitude and unpardonable rudeness. Only two truly great souls could have so understood each other as to have maintained a friendship unbroken on such a basis of absolute frankness.

Luther's was a swift-moving, relentlessly logical and fearlessly bold mind. For him to arrive at a conviction was to act upon it; to perceive a truth was to declare it. So rapid were his motions and so daring his utterances that, in 1520, three years after the posting of his theses, he was excommunicated by a bull from Rome.

The dauntless courage of the man, and the decision of his character, come into full relief in his treatment of the bull of excommunication. When it arrived in Wittenberg, he called it an execrable bull of Antichrist, and, assembling the faculty and students of the university, led them in solemn procession to the public square, where, in the presence of a great concourse of people, he solemnly burned the papal bull. A more daring act

than that was never committed. It flung defiance in the face of the highest dignitary in Christendom, and challenged him to do his worst. The best of Leo X. was bad, and his worst could not be exceeded. He immediately entered into an agreement with the Emperor, Charles V., by which Luther was to be laid under the ban of the empire. That meant that a price was upon his head, and whoever harbored him or administered to him or held intercourse with him was subject to the penalty of death.

The Diet of Worms was again assembled for the purpose of pronouncing that sentence. Luther's friends warned him that he ought not to go there when the Emperor sent for him, and especially when it was known that his works had been condemned to be burned before he arrived. They tried to prevent him from going on, but he boldly declared, "I will ride in, if there are as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the housetops." Just as he had declared, when they tried to prevent him from going to Leipsic, when duty called him there, and it was shown that the Duke was hostile to him, Luther said, "I will go to Leipsic, though it rained Duke Georges nine days."

Although paid assassins went about to at-

tack him, and many would have been glad to purchase heaven and a rich reward at the same time by his death, none assaulted him. His very daring, the boldness and dauntlessness of his bearing, was enough to overawe the boldest spirits of his time, to say nothing of the miserable caitiffs that sought his death.

In the early days at Erfurt the papal visitor had warned the prior to be careful of the monk with the strange light in his eyes, for he was sure to make trouble, and when, in 1518, Capitan, the papal legate, met him, he declared, "I could scarcely look the man in the face, such a diabolical fire darted out of his eyes."

Luther was never conscious of danger in his great work, and if he had been, he would still have braved it in the spirit with which he braved the Emperor's wrath. "If I had a thousand heads," he said, "they should all be cut off, one at a time, before I would recant." Nothing but that kind of courage could have served him in the great battle of freedom upon which he was now launched. A timid man or a compromiser, a time-server or a self-seeker, a man whose own life was dear unto him, with all Luther's genius, could not have done anything by way of reformation.

It was long the case of one man against the

world; only the lion-hearted could have faced it. Luther's iron will and absolutely unrelenting persistency carried the day against Pope and Emperor.

Of course, Luther was not alone in his great work. His boldness soon encouraged and inspired others. The greatest scholar of the time was Erasmus, and he welcomed Luther's work at the beginning as though it was allied with his own. Certainly he did much to help Luther by his keen satires against the prevailing ecclesiastical customs. Even his own later attacks upon the Reformer, inspired as they were from the Vatican, could not undo what he had already done. But Melancthon was Luther's chief helper. A precocious scholar, he was an expert in Greek and in theology at twenty. Luther called him "the little Greek," and said, "He surpasses me in theology, too." Taking his manuscripts, which the little Greek's modesty had prevented him from publishing, the great-hearted Luther sent them to the press. He was the originator of the Protestant exegesis of the Scriptures and of Protestant systematic theology. He was indeed a greater technical theologian than Luther himself.

Certain general conclusions in respect to the Struggle for Religious Liberty in Germany may be here in order,

The Reformation movement assumed three aspects—it was political, moral and theological. It is sometimes said that in England it was political; in Italy, so far as it went, it was moral, and in Germany, we may say that it was theological. But these terms are applicable only as characterizing the most conspicuous phase of the movement in each case. As a matter of fact, they were all three of them present, in some degree, in all. The exigency of the time and the character of the men in control of affairs determined the particular direction the movement was to take.

Your German is a man of speculative habit of mind, strongly subjective in his mental processes, thorough and critical in his inquiries. To him the truth of a thing is of the first importance, irrespective of its bearings; and the logical conclusions of truth, as far as he knows it, are imperative and controlling. He has a deathless love of freedom, an unquenchable thirst for righteousness, and the heroic virtues of fortitude, endurance and fearlessness, and withal a sound moral nature and great sagacity. To this German character Luther's method was perfectly adapted.

1. Luther's position as a reformer is perfectly clear in his defense before the Diet. He there made his appeal from the Pope and the

Church to the Scriptures and his own conscience. The Scriptures were his ultimate authority in religion, and his conscience bound him to these. The wonder of that position, even to us, arises from the fact that at this time Luther was a Roman Catholic, and there was no other Church in Europe. He had been brought up in the Catholic doctrine that the Church and the Pope were infallible. Luther pinned his faith to no human helpers, however great and powerful. He believed that his work was of God, and if it was not, he wanted it to come to naught; hence he never would sanction the use of the sword in the cause of the Reformation.

In 1529, at the Diet of Spires, the Emperor succeeded in dividing the German princes, securing a decree which forbade the spread of the new doctrine in those states where it was not already in control, but which secured liberty to the Catholics in those states where the new doctrine was in control. That action was taken in violation of a treaty already made at Spires in 1526, which secured practical religious liberty throughout Germany.

The adherents of Luther immediately raised a protest, and from that came the name Protestant. Not from their opposition to

Rome itself, but from their indignant protest against the duplicity and fraud with which Rome carried on the warfare with the Lutherans came the name Protestants, which has ever since been the honorable title of those who think with Luther. Nothing but his strenuous opposition at that time prevented the Protestant princes from declaring war against the Emperor.

The Emperor was deceived by the Protestant moderation at that time, and took it for weakness or cowardice, and at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1530, he gave them until October 31 of the following year in which to return to the Catholic fold or be annihilated. Then they saw their danger, and formed the defensive league of Smalcald, which, in spite of internal dissensions and treason, was able to hold the Emperor in check and secure the Protestant cause from damage until 1555, when the Diet of Augsburg conceded entire religious liberty to the Protestants.

Charles V., foreseeing the issue of that assemblage, declined to take any part in it, and shortly after abdicated, because of his chagrin over the disappointment he suffered in not being able to crush Protestantism. He was the most powerful emperor the Holy Roman Empire ever had, and, after Charlemagne, the

ablest of all the emperors. But here was a power against which he was powerless, and after a vain struggle of thirty-five years, he yielded up his sword. The battle for religious liberty in Germany had been fought and won against the allied powers of the world by the force of one intrepid spirit, a poor miner's son, unarmed, and with nothing but a Bible in his hand.

It seemed that all Germany would become Protestant; but a Judas arose within their ranks in the person of Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who, out of personal pique against the Elector of Saxony, went over to the Emperor, and so weakened the Protestant forces. Although he afterwards returned to the Protestant ranks, he was not able, even by a victory over the Emperor, to remedy the disaster his secession had caused. Although Charles was compelled, at the Diet of Augsburg, to grant liberty to the Protestants, a heavy blow had been struck at the Reformation, for at Augsburg it was also stipulated that every prelate who became a Protestant was to resign his benefice. That practically marked the limits of Protestantism geographically in Germany for centuries.

In all this work, which took two-thirds of Germany out of the hands of the Pope in a

space of twenty-eight years, Luther was the moving spirit and the presiding genius. He not only dictated the policy of the princes who espoused his cause in their relations with the empire, and directed the theological debates at the Diets, but he guided his followers in all matters pertaining to their spiritual and temporal life. The formation and management of new churches, the creation of new moral standards and of a new ideal of domestic life; the settlement of disputes between neighbors; the creation of a system of general education for his Germans; provision for their religious instruction; the translation of the Bible; the writing of hymns, commentaries and pamphlets; the conduct of great theological debates, and the preaching of sermons were some of the labors with which he occupied himself during those twenty-eight years—labors so prodigious as to seem beyond the strength of any one man. And yet he accomplished them all with a good-natured ease and jocular indifference to labor that make it impossible for us to think of him as an overburdened man.

The power of the Bible as a fighting weapon is brilliantly seen in the execution which it wrought in Luther's hands. Its effect upon himself we have already seen, in that it set him

in opposition to the established order and nerved him for the fight. Its effect upon the Germans, for whom he translated it, was equally marvelous. He began the work in the Wartburg, and kept it up with incredible care and labor, until the whole Bible was translated into the German.

"No fine, courtly words," he wrote to one of his helpers. "This book must be understood by the mother in the house, the children in the street, and the common man in the market."

It was not to be wondered at that the people were soon talking about that book upon the streets and in the family circle. Apart from its religious influence, Luther's Bible gave the Germans what they never had had before—a standard for their language. A national tongue began to frame itself upon the vital, sinewy, idiomatic language of the Bible, and to supplant the local dialects. It also gave rise to a German literature. It furnished mental stimulus and instruction to the people. It entered into the life of the people with an exciting, reviving, transforming energy, and became a part of their national heritage. A demand soon arose for general education, and Luther set himself at work to devise a system of general popular education, the

beneficial effects of which are seen at this day.

Luther was a man of varied gifts and prodigious labors, as preacher, teacher, organizer, translator, commentator and general administrator. He did enough work in each department to have made the reputation of no ordinary man.

Aside from his greatest work, and that which had the most far-reaching and permanent result of all that he did, his translation of the Bible, he did many other things which had immediate and lasting results. In a single year he is said to have issued one hundred and eighty-three publications. Commentaries, pamphlets, tracts and letters flowed from his pen like water from a faucet, and, besides, he was traveling and preaching, planting churches and guiding them in their early struggles. He was constantly in controversy with some opponent of his teachings, and always embroiled with his adversaries. At councils and diets and conventions he did yeoman's service for the great cause, and he was equally accessible to princes and to peasants, and was equally desired and sought after by them for counsel.

He complains at one time that he is wasting his time in acting as justice of the peace,

and has just been reckoning with a baker for his false weights.

Now we see him at the council board of kings, discussing treaties, alliances and state policies; now from his study directing the discussions of the diet or convention; again, from the pulpit, quieting the tumult of a people, and still again, taking a long journey that he may settle a family dispute, and in that beneficent mission he died, in 1546, perhaps from exposure.

At another time he is busy translating *Æsop's* fables for his Germans, and again it is hymns that he is composing for use in church worship or in the family circle, and in all this the accuracy and painstaking care of his work is as remarkable as the quantity of it.

In the midst of his own family circle, with his sensible wife, whom he playfully called Doctress Luther, and his children, he was the gentlest of husbands, the kindest of fathers, and the merriest of playfellows. He kept open house for all comers, and the songs which he composed for his children to sing, and the talk that sparkled at his table, made his home the center of attraction and influence. For humor and wit he has never been excelled. Goethe's conversation, as reported by Eckermann, is not more brilliant; nor is

the "Autocrat" of the "Breakfast Table" more humorous or witty. He was an accomplished musician, and so with the children he spent his time of relaxation in music, singing and frolic, and with his friends in witty talk. "Junker George," as he humorously styles himself, in his doublet, with a sword at his side, writes to his friend Melancthon directions as to the care of his "little body," and such letters as he wrote his own son, son seldom has received from father. The fine mingling of jest and earnest in Luther's letters is one of the rarest of charms.

He puts up a practical joke upon a fastidious musical critic by passing off a composition, partly his own, as a performance in Augsburg, to celebrate the entrance of the Emperor and his brother.

Martin Luther was a true son of the German people. He had, besides their mental traits and moral qualities, their peculiarities of temper. In him a certain childlikeness of disposition was accompanied by a lion-hearted courage. Great cheerfulness of temper was united with a mystical and melancholy vein. He was gentle and tender, but passionate and defiant on occasion.

The career of Martin Luther was the wonderful career of a great soul. His boldness,

his courage and his daring were equalled by his gentleness, his tenderness and his affection, and when no great principle was at stake, he was humble, meek and conciliatory alike to friends and foes. In mental processes, he was prompt and swift, brilliant and practical, with almost unerring judgment and sound common sense, but his intellectual genius, extraordinary as it was, was equalled by his moral character and spiritual grandeur. In him were mingled all the elements of man in huge proportions. Indeed, he was a human colossus, gifted with the tongue and voice of a Jupiter tonans, and above all he was a man of unlimited and invincible faith. He stands out upon the pages of history as incomparably its most sublime character since Christ and Paul. He was a man destined to set up a new doctrine and reform the world, as his superior said of him long before there were any signs of its coming. He had a voice of thunder and a pen of fire.

And in all this he was a true son of his own people, a German of the Germans. Of independent spirit, inquiring mind, loving liberty and truth, they had kept alive the spirit of freedom when it was not to be found elsewhere. Of a critical, speculative habit of mind, they were also logical and thorough in

their mental processes. With a tendency to mysticism and ascetic views of life, they have also a strong, practical faculty and great cheerfulness of temper. There is childlike guilelessness about them, together with a defiant and passionate spirit and an inflexible will. They are sound in body, in mind and in spirit.

Such a man among such a people was bound to move the world. Germany is the most prosperous and enlightened country on the Continent to-day, because of Luther's work.

LECTURE IV.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN ITALY— SAVONAROLA.

The course of thought which we are pursuing in these lectures brings us to-night to consider the Reformation in Italy. In no other country, except Spain, did it have so little effect or produce such transient results. Our attention would scarcely be attracted in that direction in pursuing the subject of religious liberty were it not for the life and work of a single person, who stands conspicuous among the reformers of the world for the singular beauty of his character, the remarkable powers of his genius, and the startling effects of his eloquence—Fra Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican monk, Prior of San Marco in Florence, who lived between the years 1452-98.

Apart from this remarkable man, whose name it is scarcely possible to pronounce even at this late day without a feeling of wonder and of awe, the only marked effect of the Reformation movement in Italy was the develop-

ment of the most effective forces that were set at work against it. These were the Inquisition and the Order of Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, for the sake of extending the power and authority of Rome. That society espoused the doctrine that the end justifies the means, and by their casuistry so confused the distinction between right and wrong that in their hands a question of morals became a question of expediency. Such was the effect of their immoral philosophy upon their characters, that they adopted courses of conduct offensive to the moral sense of Christendom. They became obnoxious even to the Church to which they had rendered most signal service, and in whose defense they were organized. The order was suppressed in the eighteenth century, but it has since been revived.

Let us look a little into the condition of religious affairs in Italy previous to the appearance of Savonarola.

The downfall of the Hohenstaufens in the middle of the thirteenth century liberated Italy from the control of the German emperors. The cities regained their independence and prosperity, letters were cultivated, the arts flourished, commerce rapidly increased, trade expanded, schools, academies and univer-

sities sprang up, and learning was eagerly sought, so that when, in 1453, the Turks took Constantinople, Italy furnished the most inviting and profitable field for the scholars and artists who had inherited and treasured the Greek learning and art, but who were forced to flee before the barbarous Turk.

The Greek learning and literature, as well as the Greek art and the Greek spirit, had long before perished in Europe. The division of the East and the West had left Constantinople the undisputed queen of the East and the great treasury of Greek antiquities. With the fall of the Empire, and the invasion of the barbarians, culture, learning and art had largely disappeared from Europe. What remained was cherished in secret or hidden away in the cloister of some secluded convent, where the art of using it was lost.

In Italy, freedom from foreign oppression left her people free to develop their native talents. Fra Angelico began to paint; poetry revived with Dante; science began to be cultivated.

Guizot tells us that at this time Italy "gave herself up to all the pleasures of an indolent, elegant, licentious civilization; to a taste for letters, the arts and social and physical enjoyments." He goes on to compare Italy

of that day with France in the eighteenth century, just before the revolution, and says: "There was the same desire for the progress of intelligence, and for the acquirement of new ideas; the same taste for an agreeable and easy life, the same luxury, the same licentiousness; there was the same want of political energy and of moral principles, combined with singular sincerity and activity of mind."

It was during that time that Machiavelli wrote his famous treatise known as the "Prince"—a work which gave its author's name to the world as a new word representative of the most flagitious immorality openly avowed and even advocated. In that notorious work he laid down the principle afterward assumed as the keystone of the Jesuit's arch of casuistry, that "the end justifies the means," that treachery and dissimulation are a merit when skillfully practiced. It set at defiance all the principles of Christian ethics, and advocated actions so flagrant and degrading as to be unworthy the name even of pagan; and yet he was the friend and favorite of two popes and of Lorenzo de Medici.

The fatal defect of character which undermined the pagan civilizations of the past had come, with their philosophy and moral and religious teachings, into Italy, as it afterwards

showed itself in France, and was the certain precursor, as it was also the fatal cause, of her disintegration, decay and long-time bondage.

Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio had seen and warned Italy of her danger. Dante had faithfully withstood the childish pretensions and unseemly luxury of the papacy, and had suffered exile and persecution in consequence. He bewailed the corruption of the papal court and the assumptions of temporal power by the popes. In his work on *Monarchy*, he advocated the separation of the Church and the State, and the Ghibelline doctrine of the independence of each. To its greed of temporal power, Dante refers the evils and abuses which have arisen within the Church.

The protests of the poets and prose writers were illustrated and emphasized for the common people by the painters. Fra Angelico and Fra Bartolommeo, in their paintings of the judgment, place popes, cardinals and bishops, in full canonicals, in the lowest regions of eternal torment, or on their way thither, in the midst of the vilest sinners and among the meanest of mankind. Michael Angelo, also, in his painting of the judgment in the Sistine Chapel, the principal place of worship in the Vatican itself, did not hesitate to pillory the highest of ecclesiastical dignitaries

in the midst of the worst torments and in such living likeness that they recognized their own faces. It is said of one of them that he complained to the pope that the great masters had placed him in the region of eternal torment, and the pope replied, "If he had placed you in purgatory, I might be able to do something for you; but since he has placed you in hell, I have no jurisdiction there." And there the great cardinal remains to this day.

The ideal works of the great masters who now appeared in Italy had much to do with awakening the spiritual natures of men and quickening the moral sense. Such beatific visions as Fra Angelico and Raphael threw upon their canvases, and such mighty revelations of spiritual genius as Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo gave in their great works, were not without their effect on a people the most sensitive and responsive in Europe to the effects of artistic beauty. The sweet dignity and noble grace of Raphael, and the colossal power of the Jove-like Angelo, deeply impressed and strongly moved the people.

The immediate effect of the revival of learning in Italy was to awaken an inquiring spirit and create a critical method. Under the in-

fluence of Dante, Petrarch and Brescia, a certain intellectual awakening had already taken place. Men had been shaken out of their long-time intellectual lethargy; but the activity which it created was mostly in the direction of poetry and romance. Works of the imagination and the fancy were chiefly the result, and it was not until the Greek scholars of Constantinople, with their invaluable manuscripts, invaded Italy that the spirit of inquiry and of criticism awoke. History and science began to be cultivated. The result of historical investigations was to undermine the credit of the great ecclesiastical system, which had based its stupendous claims upon reputed historical events. Laurentius Valla exposed the fiction of the so-called Donation of Constantine, which Dante had previously said Constantine had no right to make. Other studies revealed the identity beneath Christian names of many of the ecclesiastical customs and practices with the ancient superstitions and paganisms, which the Church of Rome so fiercely denounced as of the devil.

The study of the Scriptures in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, which now became possible, familiarized students with the original sources of the Christian religion and revealed the yawning chasm between the apostolic

simplicity of the Early Church and the gorgeous pomp and splendor of the papacy.

All of these influences combined to create a spirit of unrest and discontent among the better classes of Italians. The leading men and some illustrious women began to assemble for worship and prayer in the simple faith and forms of the New Testament. At Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Milan, Modena, Padua, Ferrara, Florence, Rome and Naples, some among the princes and higher ecclesiastics united in a kind of evangelical party. At Rome, fifty or sixty such persons, among whom were four or five who afterwards became cardinals, and one of them a pope, Paul IV., formed what was known as the "Oratory of the Divine Love." They held for the most part to the Protestant doctrine of justification, and were urgent in their demands for the purification of the Church. They gained many converts among the common people and the middle classes, and, on one occasion, addressed a memorial to the pope, in which they likened the state of the Church to "a pestiferous malady," and recommended measures of reform.

The reigning pope, Paul III., was friendly to the evangelical party and made its leaders cardinals. It is probably due to him that such

slight reforms as took place within the Italian Church were secured, for his successor rescinded his own acts as a leader of the evangelical party, and was as strenuous and inflexible as Alexander Borgia himself for the ancient régime.

By the efforts of this party a meeting was had between the representatives of the Protestant reformers in the North and the representatives of the pope at Ratisbon, in 1541, with the design of bringing about a better understanding between the Protestants and the Romanists and of uniting them again in one church organization. They were able to agree on the nature of man, original sin, redemption and justification; but on the two points of the primacy of the pope and the doctrine of the Eucharist they could not agree, and hence the union could not be made.

That conference revealed, as perhaps nothing else during the Reformation controversy did, how impassable was the gulf that yawned between the Protestant reforms and the Catholic Church. It resulted in a strong reaction in Italy against Protestantism and a revival of zeal in the Italian Church, and the development of the two forces already mentioned—the Jesuits and the Inquisition—which were to prove in its hands the might-

iest agent and the most terrible instrument for the check of Protestantism and the re-establishment of Romanism in Europe.

Two things are essential to the success of any great cause: one is a person large enough to embody the principles of the cause, powerful enough to command a hearing for it, instinct with a contagious enthusiasm, and irresistible in the impact of his own personality upon others, a kind of prophet to mankind. That is one essential. The other is a people prepared to receive the message of the prophet, to respond to his call, and to act upon the convictions he imparts to them. Given the prophet without the people, and you have a voice crying in the wilderness; given the people without the prophet, and you have the blind groping in darkness and falling into the ditch.

Italy had the first, but not the second, of these two requisites in the struggle for religious liberty in the person of Savonarola, a veritable John the Baptist, who appeared in Italy in the fifteenth century, thirty years before Luther appeared in Germany. His was the spirit of a true Hebrew prophet. The clearness of his vision, the singleness of his purpose, the intensity and fervor of his nature; his austere morality and lofty spiritual

attainments make him conspicuous among the great and the good of mankind. But the people to whom he preached were not prepared to receive his message. They heard him gladly and in vast throngs. They were swept by his impassioned eloquence, as a forest is swayed by a tempest, and bowed and wept at his appeals. For a time they were even compelled to go with him and obey his voice against their will, so persuasive and overwhelming was his personality. They purged their vile city of its vices and its crimes, its traitors and its despots, so that from being the most profligate city in Italy Florence became a model of virtue. But the haste with which the people returned to their iniquities when his voice was silenced goes to show how unprepared they were for the truth which he proclaimed and how shallow their hearts were towards it. Had Savonarola wrought in England or in Germany, the results of his work would probably have been different. As it was, he was a voice crying in the wilderness.

The peculiar character of the Italian people is responsible for the failure of Savonarola's efforts. A stranger is liable to err here and should be careful how he speaks; but, judged from their history, they seem to be a versa-

tile, partisan people, esthetic and artistic, emotional and volatile, fond of show and pleasure, richly endowed in many fine sentiments, but lacking in the finest sensibilities and somewhat deficient in moral sense—a certain immaturity of mind and character. They have the childish virtues of quickness, buoyancy and hopefulness, and the childish vices of fickleness, capriciousness and wilfulness. They love the forms of freedom rather than the fact. The veriest despot might cajole them out of their liberties and lull them into insensibility of their slavery by a display of magnificence. A splendid tyranny was far more welcome to them than a quiet, orderly and prosperous republic. Their best friends might not seriously offend their esthetic sense or trifle with their love of pleasure. They lack the critical faculty and a close, stern, logical power which is indispensable to mental stability and integrity and civic freedom.

For this reason they rejected men like Rienzi, Dante, Arnold of Brescia, and Savonarola—pure patriots and lovers of Italy, and allied themselves with men like the Medici and the Borgia, moral monsters and political despots.

During the long struggle between the Em-

pire and the Papacy, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the cities of Northern Italy had managed, for the most part, to maintain their freedom, so that when the Empire fell, in the middle of the thirteenth century, a period of unexampled prosperity set in, and the chief cities rose to great magnificence. For a period of four hundred years the history of Italian cities, of which Genoa, Venice and Florence are chief, read like a romance. They are comparable only with the three ancient cities of Athens, Rome and Carthage.

But the heroic virtues and unquenchable love of liberty with which these cities fought their early battles for freedom had in the fifteenth century given place to a supine and craven acquiescence in the supremacy which rich and powerful citizens had acquired in the State.

Of these cities, Florence is to us the most important. The events that transpired within her walls during two centuries have made her conspicuous in history, as they made her the wonder and admiration of her time. The men whom she produced, both for good and for evil, stand among the greatest in history. Dante, Savonarola, Michael Angelo, to say nothing of Raphael, Giotto, Ghiberti, Brunelleschi and Galileo, form in themselves a

brilliant constellation. But Florence also produced men of a very different type. Under the fostering influence of her free institutions, the humble and obscure often grew rich and powerful by diligence and intelligent enterprise, and not seldom they used their wealth and power to undermine the freedom which had enabled them to acquire it. Among these the family of the Medici is notorious for the manner in which it subverted the liberties of Florence and usurped the supreme authority. It is also remarkable for the number of brilliant intellects and moral monsters it produced in the course of three centuries. Of these, Lorenzo was, perhaps, in both respects, the most remarkable, and he was in control of Florence when Savonarola arrived there at the Convent of San Marco, in 1490.

He was a cultivated, refined scholar, philosopher and artist; and at the same time an abandoned libertine and heartless tyrant. He was a man of versatile gifts and great accomplishments, and shone with equal brilliancy in an assembly of philosophers discussing the Platonic idea of virtue, in a society of artists criticising the productions of genius in painting and sculpture, in a company of poets disputing about literature or reading their own verses, and in the garden of San Marco dis-

cussing theology and religion. He was surnamed "The Magnificent," and justly so, for no man was ever more munificent in his patronage of letters, arts, sciences and religion than he. In his own library was trained the youth who afterwards laid the foundations of the great Vatican library, now one of the priceless collections of the world. He composed verses to be sung at religious services, and others to be sung at the Carnival, the most abandoned revel of drunken orgies imaginable. He was, in fact, the man of his age, and embodies on a large scale its virtues and its vices. With his affable, cultivated, polished manner and peerless magnificence, he cajoled the people and narcotized them into a state of civic comatoseness, so that he was able to rob them of the few rights and liberties his grandfather had not absorbed. He maintained the forms of liberty under which the city had prospered and grown rich, and his own family had risen to power, but destroyed the power which had made them beneficent. The constitution of the city was perverted by securing the election of his own creatures to office, and so centering all power in himself. He thus came to be absolute, and he maintained his absoluteness by a series of bloody reprisals upon his enemies and by a

system of spies who ferreted out and brought to summary punishment all opposition. The resources of the city were soon turned into his own treasury, and he was complete master of the city and its treasure. He did not scruple to rifle trust funds for purposes of his ambition or pleasure, and on one occasion he diverted a fund of 100,000 florins, established for the purpose of providing orphan girls with marriage dowry, according to the custom of the time in Italy, in consequence of which scores of young girls were deprived of honorable marriage and thrown upon the streets. That was the kind of man who was in possession of Florence when Savonarola arrived there in 1490. And yet it is a tribute to something in Lorenzo betraying a certain greatness of mind that he not only permitted the friar to preach without molestation, but that on his deathbed¹⁴⁹² he sent for him to render him the last rites of the Church.

Savonarola was a man of equal intellectual genius with Lorenzo, but a man of stainless life and exalted moral nature, keenly alive to the vices of his age and painfully sensitive of them. At the age of twenty-three he entered the Dominican convent at Bologna, driven thither by an unbearable sense of the wickedness of the world and an irresistible impulse to escape from it.

He had always been noted for a reserved, modest disposition and studious habits, and for what was in those days a singular purity and exaltation of life. At the age of twenty he wrote a poem on "The Ruin of the World," in which he describes the condition of the world at the time. He says that virtue has everywhere perished and that decent customs have ceased to be observed. The shameless vice and hideous crimes he was obliged to witness inflicted upon him the greatest suffering, and he prayed to be "taken out of the mire," as he says. He was destined for the medical profession, in which his ancestors had long been eminent, and he struggled hard to meet the wishes of his parents by preparing himself for that profession; but the conviction grew upon him that he had a mission in the world which could only be fulfilled by his becoming a monk. He was at that time very fond of Plato, and displayed great metaphysical acumen and power in preparing himself for that profession; but he had also learned to love Thomas Aquinas, and it was not long after he entered the convent that we find him becoming absorbed in the Scriptures. Soon they have become his chief book, and it was said of him that he had committed to memory the whole of the Old and New Testaments.

Savonarola first came into public notice as a man of mark at a convention of the brethren in Lombardy, where he startled and amazed the assembly by the boldness of his speech against the prevailing wickedness, and the intensity of his manner. He arraigned the Church for her profligacy, called upon her to repent, and threatened her with the direst calamities if she did not. "Time was," said he, "when the Church had wooden chalices and golden prelates; but now she has golden chalices and wooden prelates. Repent you, wash you, make you clean, lest a worse evil befall you."

The moral aspect of the world assumed the place of first importance in his thoughts and subordinated all other interests. Trained in his youth for the medical profession, he had manifested great aptitude for the study of philosophy and science and had exhibited a strongly speculative habit of mind. So well furnished was he in these particulars that one of his accusers at his trial urged that so great a genius in science ought not to be put to death, but kept in prison, that the world might profit by his labors. But all these interests were swallowed up for him in the interest which he now acquired in the Scriptures and in human life, and in Florence that

interest was so intensified that it grew into a consuming passion. He was never at variance with the Roman Catholic Church in matters of doctrine, but attacked it solely on the grounds of moral character.

In order to understand this man we should study his face. Fortunately, we have it painted by a great master from life. Bartolommeo's portraits of Savonarola present altogether a most remarkable face. His features are as clear cut and sharply defined as the most carefully cut cameo, but as bold and massive as a face in the mountainous rock—altogether the most remarkable face I ever looked upon, a sort of combination of the eagle and the lion. The craggy brow and the crater-like depths of the great eyes, the massive but shapely nose and chin, and the sweet, large but fine, melancholy, firm but flexible, strong but beautiful mouth, together with the rugged, mobile countenance, all bespeak the mighty, intrepid, fiery, impetuous soul that wrought in building such a structure of bone and sinew. There is no superfluous flesh, no weak or deficient line, no excessive growth, but a harmony and symmetry of rugged, craggy strength, lit up with gleams of tenderness and gentleness, as of a mountainside touched by passing gleams of sunlight. It

is a perfectly ideal face for massive grandeur — unimaginable, indescribable — surpassing anything I have ever seen in the form of a face—one of the rare products of life which she never repeats and never imitates; it is perfectly unique and without a class. As one looks upon the portrait, he readily understands the stories of the monks about its shining for hours in the darkness of the church where he was accustomed to sit long after service in rapt meditation.

The soul of the Hebrew prophets was in this man. His chief characteristics were great, good common sense, amounting to genius, moral earnestness and spiritual fervor. He was not a poet or theologian, as Luther was, nor a scholar and thinker, like Wyclif; but in moral and spiritual genius he equalled, if he did not surpass, them both. He had in a remarkable degree the faculty of prevision which enabled him to predict with surprising exactness events which actually came to pass. He predicted, among other things, the death of Lorenzo, the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII., and his own death by burning at the hands of the pope.

That rare and, as it seemed to the people of his day, supernatural power, together with the austerity of his life, his strange power

over the spirits of men, his bold defiance of the Medici and the pope, and his burning eloquence, have surrounded his memory with a strange, weird atmosphere, as of some wild fanatic, blazing and thundering, blindly and aimlessly, at he knows not what. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Savonarola had a burning zeal for righteousness and a soul-consuming hunger for truth; but he was not of a speculative or imaginative turn of mind. Doctrine as such did not attract him, and he had no taste for theorizing. Summoned to a council of his order, in which the great doctors of theology discuss the deep questions of theology, he has nothing to say, but sits apart brooding until the questions of discipline and the moral condition of the Church come up. That brings him to his feet, and his fiery, fulgurous soul leaps to his eyes and lips and there burns and flames until it astounds and confounds the easy-going, luxurious prelates. With a burning eloquence he scathes and scorches the profligate and plundering magnates of the Church, by whom he is surrounded, and exhorts them to repentance and cleansing of life. He explicitly threatens them with divine punishment, if they do not speedily turn from their evil ways.

It was inevitable that a man like that should come into sharp conflict with the powers that ruled. The profligate Lorenzo at Florence, and the flagitious Alexander VI. at Rome, were not likely to win his approbation or to relish his rebukes. His fiery spirit and uncompromising nature could not quietly submit to abuses that were ruining the Church and the State.

His sermons made such an impression upon the people that the cathedral could not hold his audience, but it overflowed even there and filled the surrounding space whenever he preached. His favorite themes were the vices of the age and their consequences; the wickedness of the priests, whom he held responsible for them, and the profligacy of the tyrant, whose arts and wiles he condemned. From these themes neither threats nor promises would turn him aside.

Lorenzo was cunning and crafty and tried to conciliate this terrible being, who alone among men dared to call him to account. "Go, tell your master," replied the intrepid monk to his friendly messengers, "to prepare to repent of his sins; for the Lord spares no one, and has no fear of the princes of the earth." A fire burned within him, as he expressed it, and would not let him keep si-

lent or modify his utterance, and his words were like molten lava, and burned their way into the hearts of the people. But Lorenzo was enough of a man to honor him whom he could neither intimidate nor mollify, and on his deathbed he sent for the prior of San Marco to administer to him the last rites of his church. The monk laid down three conditions: 1. Repentance from his sins and a lively faith in God. To this "The Magnificent" immediately assents. 2. The restoration of all ill-gotten gain, either by himself or by enjoining it upon his sons. There is reluctance here, but the haughty spirit of the tyrant yields. 3. The restoration to Florence of her ancient rights and liberties. The tyrant groans and turns his back upon the friar. The inflexible monk draws his cowl over his face and leaves the palace, and Lorenzo the Magnificent dies unconfessed.

The year after Savonarola began to preach in Florence the infamous Rodrigo Borgia secured the papal throne by bribery. He was a man of undoubted ability, but of most scandalous life. No pope has ever more thoroughly disgraced the chair of St. Peter. His ambition was to amass wealth and secure thrones for his children. For this purpose he

sold the offices of the Church and used all the rites and prerogatives of the papacy for the purpose of securing revenue. One of Boccaccio's stories is applicable to this time.*

It was not to be expected that Savonarola would suffer such abuses as these to go unrebuked, nor that a man like the pope would long endure his rebukes with patience. At first he treated him with contempt, then he tried to conciliate him with flattery, then he endeavored to bribe him with the offer of dignities; but the wise monk knew too well the motives that animated the potentate to be caught with any of his wiles. He declined to go to Rome and refused the offer of a cardinal's hat with the words, "Tell your master that the only hat I shall ever receive from him

* He tells of a Jew who lived in Paris and had a Christian friend anxious for his conversion. The Jew finally announced his intention to go to Rome and see the Christian religion at its headquarters. That dismayed the Christian, for he well knew the riot and dissipation he would find at Rome and, most of all, with the pope and cardinals. In due time the Jew returned to Paris a Christian, and explained his conversion by saying that what he saw at Rome had convinced him that the Christian religion must have a supernatural origin and a divine support, else it would have been driven out of the world by the profligacy and folly of its guardians.

will be the red hat of flames." Alexander then set himself at open war with the friar and determined upon his destruction.

Savonarola was at that time by far the most eloquent, powerful, influential and famous preacher in Christendom, as for ten years, from 1488 to 1498, he was the foremost man of all Italy. His influence at that time was felt strongly at the universities in England, and students who returned to be lecturers and professors at Oxford and Cambridge brought back something of the fire they had lighted at his torch. He used his power wisely and well. He taught the people the Scriptures, a pure morality and a high spirituality. He admonished the wicked and encouraged the weak. He called all men to repentance and preached to them the Christ of the Gospels. He spared none, and he had no respect for persons. He treated prince and peasant alike, and knew no fear for emperor or pope, but for God only. Indeed, for a time he ruled Florence as no monarch ever ruled a State. The people daily thronged the cathedral and crowded the surrounding space, and were swept and fired by the mighty tides of passion which rose from his soul as streams from a burning volcano, and poured forth from his lips like fiery torrents burning their way into every heart.

Like another Paul, "he reasoned with them of truth and righteousness and a judgment to come." He dealt with the common sins of the day, the vices, the crimes, the iniquities, the abuses of every class of society, the dishonesty of the merchants, the untruthfulness of the professional classes, the gambling and drunkenness and licentiousness of all; and he did it with a swift, trenchant, pungent earnestness which sent his flaming words to the hearts of all, like arrows tipped with fire, there to lodge and kindle a kindred flame. The people bowed themselves and wept at his accusations and appeals and went forth humble and penitent, to lay aside the sins which had caused their ruin. Gambling disappeared and drunkenness ceased, and for three years Florence, from being the most profligate city in Europe, became the most orderly and righteous. It was during that time as near perhaps as any city ever was to being a Puritan city.

But a city that had been enslaved to men and demons for a century was not to be restored by a single revolution, nor in a night.

This remarkable man had the gift of vision and of prediction. He early came to a sense of a mission in the world, which grew upon him until he began to expect some particular

message of the work he was to do; and in 1484 the message came. The heavens seemed to open before him and a voice commanded him to proclaim three things: (1) that the Church should be scourged for its wickedness; (2) that it should be renovated, and (3) that this should come to pass soon.

Other visions followed this, and soon he began to predict, with remarkable accuracy, coming events.

While he was yet but a lecturer, as he stood in the pulpit lecturing one Saturday, he hesitated, reflected and finally announced that to-morrow he would begin to preach and would continue to preach eight years; and that actually occurred. On one occasion, when Lorenzo sent a friend to talk with him about his attacks upon the tyrant, with a suggestion of danger, the strange monk divined the inspiration of the messenger, and said, "Go, tell Lorenzo that not I, but he, shall leave Florence, and that very soon." Within a few months "The Magnificent" was dead. So, also, he predicted the speedy death of the pope, which soon followed; and three years before it happened, when there was absolutely no prospect of it, he had foretold the coming of the French into Italy. So, also, he predicted his own death.

These and other prophecies which actually were fulfilled in a brief space, with remarkable accuracy, caused him to be regarded with a reverence amounting to awe, as of one possessed with superhuman powers.

The charge has sometimes been made against Savonarola that he was a visionary and blind fanatic. While it is true that he had visions and made predictions, it is also true that his visions were of the nature of revelations of the true inwardness of things, and his predictions actually were fulfilled. His sermons, in the light of subsequent history, read like inspired prophecies, and his conduct in the midst of the gravest dangers shows him to have been a man of the most solid judgment and the most capacious understanding—the most colossal man of his time.

When the French invaded Italy, as he had predicted, Piero de Medici, who was then in control, basely betrayed Florence into their hands. The people determined not to submit to such a disgrace, and they turned to Savonarola for advice. He called them together in the cathedral and counseled an embassy to the French king, and after all efforts to secure favorable terms for the city had failed, he took his way to the French camp, admonished the king of his duties, warned him to have a

care of his actions, and threatened the direst penalties if he abused his power. The obdurate and unscrupulous despot, who would hearken to neither the voice of conscience nor of humanity, who neither feared God nor regarded man, quailed before the mighty spirit of the monk and swore friendship to the city; and when he seemed in danger of forgetting his oaths, the indomitable monk sought him out again, reminded him of his pledges, and ordered him to leave the city. Charles put himself at the head of his victorious army and marched away.

In this marvelous magic of his spirit Savonarola closely resembles Bernard of Clairvaux; and whether any one else has equaled these two in that respect, I am doubtful. The effect of Demosthenes' Philippics I do not think equal to the effect of Savonarola's sermons, by which he held Florence against the combined powers of the world in Church and State for four years.

The events of the invasion left the city panic-stricken and its chief men paralyzed. In the midst of the confusion and despair the great Dominican alone was calm, self-possessed, equal to the emergency. The Medici did not dare to show their faces, and when they were gone the ruling spirit was seen to

be the prior of San Marco. In their extremity the people turned to him. He outlined a constitution for them, and the successive steps in the development of the new government can be traced in his sermons during four years. He was the mind, the conscience, and the will of Florence.

So long as he could occupy his pulpit there was no question of his supremacy in Florence. Enemies and friends alike bowed to the subtle, irresistible magic of his eloquence. (It is said that a letter of admonition which he addressed to the wicked pope, who was already committed to the monk's destruction, caused that shameless potentate to pause for a time and reflect on his career. It was the only thing that ever did.) He could hold Florence against any foe as long as he had his pulpit; but, weakened at length by the long struggle and by his vigils and fastings, and forbidden by the pope to preach, he was glad to relax his labors for a time. Then his enemies began to work. The plague fell upon the city to help them, and injudicious friends and partisans played into the hands of his enemies.

No man knew better than the preacher the danger of his position. The prelates and aristocrats were a unit against him. The pope and the emperor were agreed in the necessity

for his overthrow. Among the people themselves many had been deprived of their incomes by the suppression of vice, and many more chafed uneasily under the unaccustomed and unwelcome restraint the new régime had forced upon them, and sighed for the former days. Every vile thing within the city that had been suppressed or restrained chafed and fumed in its bondage and clamored for release. Paid emissaries from the Medici and the pope went about at the elections seeking plans in the council that they might betray the prior, whom they could not otherwise reach, and overthrow the republic, which was impossible while he occupied the pulpit in the cathedral.

All this the wonderful man knew and declared. He saw the darkness thicken about his path, the plots multiply, and the conspiracies coming to completion. The end was approaching, dark and terrible, but he held steadily on his way.

In spite of his visions Savonarola was not a visionary; no mental hallucinations afflicted him—he was a mystic but not a maniac. They wanted him to be king, but he refused all public office, and set up over his pulpit the inscription, “Jesus Christ is King of Florence.”

Unable longer to endure his rebukes, the

pope decided, in 1497, to silence the irrepressible monk in the only possible way. He had disregarded his briefs, spurned his offers of dignities, and ignored the sentence of excommunication. Peremptory orders for his arrest were now forwarded to Florence, where the government had come into the hands of his enemies. His sentence was also prepared at Rome and sent by special envoys.

Humane sentiment compels us to draw a veil over the inhuman cruelty with which he was tortured in the name of a trial. I have never been able to read that account a second time. It was a shocking and terrible end; the rack for days, so that every bone in his body was crushed, every joint dislocated, and his flesh torn until the mutilated muscles could scarce hold the broken body together. Delirious with pain, he raved wildly, and his enemies make much of it, but he declined till the last to write his recantation with his right hand, which alone of his members had been kept unmaimed for that purpose. When it was seen that his tortured body could no longer endure, he was haled to the stake and suspended by the neck, yet so as not to strangle, and a slow fire kindled beneath him. Thus ascended, in his chariot of fire, the mightiest spirit of the fifteenth century.

It is sometimes said that Savonarola's work perished with him. He who thinks so does not understand the history of Florence or of Italy since his day. Some of the best features of the municipal government in Florence to-day are the survivals of his constitution. The Medici were not permitted to return to Florence for some years after his death. Michael Angelo was a diligent student of his writings, and the evangelical party in Italy under the title of the "Oratory of the Divine Love," which numbered some of the most influential princes and cardinals among its members, secured the calling of the Council of Trent, which, while it reaffirmed Catholic doctrine and denounced Protestantism, inaugurated measures of reform within the Church which did away with its worst abuses, and made it forever impossible for a pope to buy his election or maintain a profligate and scandalous court.

Savonarola's influence upon the people also was not without results. No memory is more green in Italy than his, and every year, on the anniversary of his death, floral offerings are heaped profusely about the doors of the cathedral. His teachings and his hopes survived and came to their fruit in men like Mazzini and Garibaldi. It is true that he founded

no school, established no church, and that no institution or society bears his name; but he left his works and the example of his life and death for liberty, and these have proved a deathless flame in the hearts of many. I doubt whether united Italy could have been accomplished as it was without his work; or whether a state government in Italy, free from ecclesiastical control, could now be peacefully maintained in the face of determined opposition. Neither do we forget that Master Collet carried something of his influence to England and imparted it to the attendants at his lectures there.

Three great names adorn Italian history, as they also still continue to inspire her march—Dante, Savonarola and Michael Angelo. The mighty spirits of these three pure patriots have survived their own day and work and have informed and heartened the best of Italians to this day. The truths they set forth have been the principles on which Italy's best minds have worked, and the measure in which they wrought and suffered for those truths has kept the fires of patriotism and self-sacrifice alive in thousands of hearts. The unsullied purity of their lives has served as a salt to the noblest of its subsequent heroes; and of these three no memory is more green in

Italy or name more cherished than the name and memory of Savonarola. We may even say that there is no name in Christendom to-day, apart from Him whose name is above every name, that commands a more instant and spontaneous response—none, not even among our own beloved heroes, that exerts a greater charm upon the imagination, or throws a stronger, more alluring spell over the spirits of men. The lives of such men are never lost; their work is never ended, their influence never dies. They are allied with the eternal forces which work perpetual progress, and though the stream of time bears them away, it gathers up and carries forward their work, as the sea holds the waters of the streams that empty into it.

The dream of these three men and the ambition of their lives were to see Italy freed from the control of the Church in all temporal affairs and united into one kingdom. That dream, so impossible then, is an accomplished fact to-day, and the spirit of the great three burned in the hearts of the men who brought it to pass.

The good that men do lives after them. History is wax to receive and marble to retain the impression of a great soul. Secret and subtle forces are silently but irresistibly at

work diffusing the influence of such a man
and transmitting it to successive generations.
Those long dead and forgotten live again in
lives made better by their presence. For men
like the great Dominican live

“In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude; in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues.”

LECTURE V.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN HOLLAND—THE TRAGEDY OF THE REFORMATION—WILLIAM THE SILENT.

The two great arenas of the Reformation were, as we have seen, England and Germany. In both of these countries the battle for religious freedom was fought on a vast field and with tremendous forces. The splendor of these conflicts is likely to blind our eyes to others that were being waged at the same time and for the same purpose, though on more contracted theatres and with less brilliant results, but not with less heroism or less disregard of temporal considerations.

The Reformation in Switzerland, under the leadership of the great-souled and enlightened Ulrich Zwingli, stands among the noblest efforts of nations to free themselves from political and ecclesiastical bondage.

In France, the Protestants, under the leadership of the great Coligny, grew to considerable proportions among all classes of the people, in spite of systematic and bitter perse-

cution; and even the atrocious crime of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the policy of extermination which followed, were not able to stamp them out. Norway, Sweden and Denmark became Protestant, and Protestants secured religious toleration among the Slavonic peoples, and in Bohemia and Hungary.

One of the remarkable features of the great religious movement known as the Reformation is the number and variety of great men that it called forth. A perfect galaxy of luminous names spans those three centuries, as the milky way "rends the azure robe of night." Among them are many that pierce the night like stars of the first magnitude: scholars, orators, statesmen, soldiers, poets and artists; men of thought and men of action, who for capacity and power rank with the greatest in history and are surpassed by none, either in exalted genius or excellence of character. It may be said that the greatest minds of three centuries, beginning with John Wyclif and ending with William III. of England, were enlisted in the great Protestant movement, and that the movement itself crystallized in them and rallied upon them.

It was, of course, a movement of principles in the sphere of religion—a religious move-

ment, as we say—the religious truths of the time coming to their birth and working themselves clear. But they had their birth in individuals, and the personal qualities and plastic agencies of individuals capable of creating and sustaining in others the vital quickening of the powers of the world to come, of which they themselves had first been the subjects, must be taken into account in any adequate estimate of the movement itself. Men as intrepid, as dauntless, as self-sacrificing and heroic as they were large-minded and prophetic-spirited, were as conspicuous in the struggle as the truths and principles for which they contended were novel and commanding.

In the sixteenth century two opposite principles of life, two kinds of civilization and religion, diametrically opposed to each other, met and contended for the mastery. Feudalism and ecclesiasticism, absolutism in the State and absolutism in the Church, were the order of the day. But democracy and individualism began to appear. The spirit of the modern time met and came in conflict with the spirit of mediævalism. They could not coalesce; compromise was impossible. Each recognized in the other its implacable, deadly foe. They locked in the death grapple and poured out their blood without stint. There

could be no truce in that war; it was war to the death. Absolutism could give no quarter to democracy; ecclesiasticism to the freedom of conscience; mediævalism to the right of private judgment. At the opposite poles of thought and civilization they acted like the opposite poles of electricity. When brought together, they struck fire and burned as long as the currents flowed.

The fierceness and sanguinariness of the great struggle was due to that fact, and not alone to the fact that it was a religious revolution. It was not until the religious principle of freedom and righteousness met the political and ecclesiastical principles of absolutism and conformity, which sought to hold down the truth with violence, that the spark was struck and the fire kindled.

The first half of the sixteenth century was comparatively peaceful and bloodless. Men for a time fought their battles with the intellectual weapons of debate and edicts; but as the controversy proceeded the real nature of the new doctrines began to appear, and with it the absolute impossibility of light and darkness to maintain fellowship. Then men fell by the ears and blood began to flow like water.

Two things are to be noted at the outset in connection with the Reformation in Eu-

rope in the sixteenth century. They are, first, the manner in which the movement organized itself about and rallied upon great persons, in its political aspects; second, the way in which it adapted itself to the mental traits and moral qualities of the nations among whom it wrought.

Just because it was a religious movement, its tendencies and consequences were not restricted, but its influence extended to every domain of human life. It revolutionized not only religion, but education, literature, science, art, philosophy, methods of thought and habits of life, governments, domestic and social life.

And this it did largely through the character and personality of the men who espoused its principles and guided its course.

A surprising number of great men sprang up as leaders of Reformation forces. Where the leaders were early and effectually crushed, as in Italy, Austria and France, the cause itself languished and failed; but when they were able to maintain themselves, as in the north of Europe and in England, the cause succeeded.

The political aspect of the Reformation is everywhere prominent, because of the close and intimate connection of the Church of Rome with political affairs. It has always been

a political institution far more jealous of its temporal than its spiritual prerogatives, and therefore anxious to maintain uniformity in the Church, so as to secure unity among States. Disaffection in the one meant disruption in the other. So long as the spiritual supremacy of the Church could be maintained, there was no question as to its temporal domination. The Empire of the Middle Ages was but the right arm of ecclesiastical despotism. To question her spiritual claims was to aim at her domination of princes. Hence, wherever the Reformation took any deep hold upon the people, it raised at once the political question, and its success was always followed by political disruption. And when the movement had run its course, there was no longer any excuse for the existence of even the figment of the Roman Empire. It died from want of breath, because its native air was exhausted.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances under which it culminated and was fought out, the Reformation in the Netherlands was more distinctively political than in any other country, and its great hero was a political and military rather than a theological leader. Indeed, it is one of the peculiarities of the Reformation in Holland that it developed no great theo-

logical or distinctively religious leader. It required the services of a statesman and a soldier, and the man whom it found was so great in these realms and his achievements so marvelous that his fame has eclipsed that of all his associates, even as his single power and influence excelled them all at the time. William of Orange was one of the princes of the earth, but his work was done entirely at the council board and in the camp. He was neither a speaker nor a writer upon religious subjects. Apart from such references to these things in his State papers and letters as were inevitable (and which show what he might have done in religion and theology), he took no part in the theologic discussions of the time.

The need of such a leader is to be explained chiefly by the condition of the country and the foe against whom he had to fight.

Philip II. inherited from his father all his vast possessions, in 1555. They constituted the most splendid empire of modern times. As King of Spain he was master of the richest part of the New World, of Italy, of the Spanish Hapsburg interests in Austria and Germany, of Burgundy and the Netherlands. The wealth, the military, and the naval powers of the world were his. He possessed the most

splendid navy the world had ever seen, and was master of the seas, while his armies were composed of trained and veteran troops, commanded by the most renowned generals of the age.

Along with his magnificent possessions Philip also inherited his father's absolute policy and his imperious temper; but none of his intellectual ability or genial manners. Philip II. was possessed by two ruling ideas. The first was to make himself absolute in Europe; the second to re-establish the unity and universal supremacy of the Roman Church. Besides these two ideas, the most skilful operation of intellectual surgery could not succeed in gaining entrance for any others into his mind. The tenacity with which he held these two resolves, and the reckless ferocity with which he pursued them, made him notorious in history as the immediate cause of the revolt of the Netherlands, and so the instigator of the darkest tragedy in the history of nations.

He belonged to that large class of persons who can learn nothing by experience and for whom the severest calamities have no lessons.

In personal appearance he was unprepossessing. Below the average height, he had a corpulent body set upon very disproportion-

ate legs. He had the projecting Burgundian under jaw, which descended as inevitably in that line as their hereditary titles and estates. He had also the dull, heavy Spanish eye, and the Hapsburg coarse, irregular features. His manners were cold and distant. He was arrogant and gloomy. His chief pleasures were eating and drinking and sensual indulgence, in all of which he ran to excess. His appetites and passions had absolute control of him. He was so inordinately fond of pastry and ate it in such quantities that he suffered for many years from constant pains in his stomach in consequence. His mind was sluggish; his will vacillating and uncertain, and his methods mechanical and arbitrary.

Such a man and the Dutch people were to each other like the negative and positive poles of electricity. They could not come together without striking fire; it only needed that the pressure should be steady and prolonged in order to kindle a conflagration that would shock and stupefy the world.

According to his most trustworthy biographer, the only time that Philip II. was ever heard to laugh aloud was when the massacre of St. Bartholomew was reported to him.

By far the most flourishing and enlightened portion of Philip's vast domains was the

Netherlands. When the commercial and financial supremacy of the world had been driven from the cities of Northern Italy by political and ecclesiastical tyranny, it took up its abode in the Netherlands. Antwerp became the cosmopolitan city of the world, and a score of other cities became famous for their wealth and industries. Factories dotted the land and invention flourished.

The people of the North, what is now the kingdom of Holland, were of ancient Frisian blood, who alone among the German races had developed, besides local self-government, a democracy without a trace of royalty or nobility. They were a sturdy, thrifty, intelligent people, who had reclaimed their land from the sea and knew how to say to it, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." Their long conflict with the elements had inured them to hardship and cultivated the qualities of enterprise and independence. They were also intelligent, had excellent schools, and the Bible had been translated into their vernacular in the early part of the fourteenth century. It is said by a contemporary historian that the fishermen discussed the Scriptures like men from the university. Their universities were at that time the best, and were always

thronged with students. Erasmus, the greatest of the humanists, was a native of Rotterdam.

The people of the southern provinces, now the kingdom of Belgium, were of a different origin and different mental and moral traits. Flemish, Walloon and French blood predominated there and they used the French language.

Among the people of the North the ideas of the Reformation found early and free access, secured general acceptance and enthusiastic support, and, aided by local self-government, they took deep root in the minds of the people. The people of the southern provinces were less hospitable towards them, but they found many warm advocates and staunch supporters even in Flanders, and in Brussels the first martyrs were burned as early as 1526.

Severe edicts had been issued by Charles V. and the Inquisition established to prevent the progress of Lutherism in the Netherlands. The country had suffered severely in consequence, but the new religious views and practices had continued to spread. Philip, however, was determined to stamp them out at any cost to himself or the Netherlands. Incapable of devising any original or effective measures for such an undertaking, he was yet

possessed of the power to inflict unlimited injuries upon any foe against whom his wrath was kindled, but whom he did not possess the requisite sagacity to conquer. His whole reign was one long attempt to secure, by brute force, what nothing but the most far-seeing statesmanship and the most skilful diplomacy could have accomplished. It was therefore a series of humiliating defeats and irretrievable disasters. In the Netherlands he aroused a spirit of revolt which precipitated the tragedy of the Reformation and the ultimate ruin of Spain. There in the Netherlands his ponderous brute force was pitted against a statesmanship of the highest order, a diplomacy of the most accomplished finesse, and a heroism and enthusiasm as exalted and devoted as it was pure and unselfish. No people, however, were ever more unprepared for a struggle in defense of their own liberties than were the Dutch people at that time.

In the person of William of Orange they found a champion who was also a national representative, both in moral qualities and mental traits. Although born upon German soil and Duke of Nassau in Germany and Prince of Orange in France, he yet held vast possessions in the Netherlands, where his family had held high office for some genera-

tions, and he always considered himself as belonging to that country. Charles V. had made him Stadtholder of Holland and Zealand when he was but twenty-one years of age, and commander of the army of the Netherlands the following year, and when in that year Charles took leave of the Netherlands, after his abdication, it was upon the shoulder of the Prince of Orange that he leaned at the public ceremony.

William at that time is described by Motley as a tall and handsome youth, with dark brown hair and eyes. His portraits show him to have had a lofty, spacious brow, regular features, with a look of wisdom and a mouth expressing great firmness. His face a little later was deeply marked with the lines of care and thought, and wistful anxiety filled the eyes. Later on a certain paternal kindness characterizes his look. The word "silent" was applied to him, not because he was reserved or taciturn in manner, but because of the discretion and judgment which distinguished him. He was of athletic build, with great powers of endurance, fond of active sports, with a cheerful disposition, easy good humor, and polished, affable manners, which, together with his sprightly wit and extraordinary abilities, made him the favorite of

every court in Europe. He was descended from an ancient family of sovereign rank, brought up at the imperial court, as the custom was for great nobles of the empire, and his superior talents and trustworthy character greatly endeared him to Charles V., who had a genius for discovering talent and estimating men.

When William was but a youth Charles had recognized his promise and in his twentieth year had employed him in diplomatic missions of importance, and even of great difficulty and delicacy. It was William that the Emperor selected when he abdicated the empire to be the bearer of the imperial insignia to his brother, who was his successor in the imperial dignity. It was William who secured for Philip, after his first war, which was with Henry II. of France, a favorable treaty with that monarch, with whom he was an especial favorite, and he remained for a time at the court of France as a pledge of Philip's good faith in keeping the terms of the peace.

One day, while hunting with the King in the forest of Fontainebleau, his royal host disclosed to the young prince a secret compact into which he and Philip had entered, for the extermination of heresy within their realms, a measure which involved the wholesale

slaughter of all their Protestant subjects. William was at that time a gay young prince, not deeply interested in religion. Like all the young nobles of his time, his only serious interest was in politics and military affairs, employments for which his talents and training eminently fitted him. But apart from these his chief pursuit was pleasure. Hunting and the banquet were his pastimes. He maintained upon his estates in Nassau and at his palace in Brussels a perfectly regal state, unequaled by any of the great nobles, and surpassed only by members of the imperial and royal households. He kept open house the year round. His great hall was always open, and relays of cooks furnished forth the richly laden tables. Motley is authority for the statement that cooks were trained in his kitchens for royal cuisines; and his stables and kennels were the envy of many a crowned head.

In so far as he was religious at this time, he was a Romanist. His parents were Protestant, but he had been brought up a Romanist at the court of Charles V., and might naturally be expected to sympathize with the policy of Protestant extermination unfolded to him by Henry II. But, pleasure-loving and luxurious and irreligious man of the world though

he was, he was yet a man of high character and humane sentiments, and he was horrified by the deep perfidy and satanic cruelty which the compact of the kings implied. It was utterly in violation of all the edicts which secured the rights of Protestants.

He kept his own counsel at the time, but registered an oath that he would do what he could to thwart the nefarious project. He saw clearly that it was aimed chiefly at the Netherlands, and that upon them its worst consequences were bound to fall, and he determined to do what he could to "drive the Spanish vermin" from what he regarded as his own land.

Two things soon made it clear to William that Philip had launched his policy of extermination. The means essential to its accomplishment were, first, an increased body of reliable troops, and, second, a numerous and well-organized body of clergy, devoted to the work of the Inquisition. Neither of these could be legally secured without the consent of the States General. Philip, however, was not a man to be deterred from anything upon which he had set his heart by so small a matter as a question of law. He ordered the troops at the close of the war with France to take up their quarters in the Netherlands,

and quieted the fears of the people by explaining that it was only a temporary measure, and assured them that they would soon be recalled. But as month after month passed and he failed to keep his promise, popular outbreaks occurred, which increased to such an extent that the regent, Margaret of Parma, was compelled to find a pretext for sending the soldiers away.

The second necessity was the increase of the clergy in connection with the Inquisition. There had never been but four bishops in the Netherlands, and the laws forbade an increase of the number of the clergy without the consent of the States General. Philip appointed twelve new bishops, with the requisite number of clergy, and clothed them with inquisitorial power. The only explanation he deigned to give was that heresy was so rapidly increasing that they were necessary to deal with it.

Already thousands of persons had suffered by the Inquisition in the Netherlands. Philip himself had declined to change it, when Granvelle requested that its severities be decreased, because, he said, it was already more severe than that of Spain; and the Queen of Hungary, who was regent when Charles V. issued his edict establishing it, found it necessary to make a long journey in order to personally

remonstrate with him against its inhuman cruelty.

Even the Roman Catholics of the Netherlands were horrified at the sufferings of their Protestant brethren. The nobles were all Romanists, and the three chief among them, Orange, Egmont and Horn, were unalterably opposed to the policy of the government. They were men of humane sentiments and, unlike the Spaniard, did not enjoy the sight of human agony. But Philip was obdurate, and the work of death began in earnest.

It now became evident to the people of the Netherlands that they were dealing with a false tyrant, to whom oaths and pledges, laws and obligations, meant nothing. The whole story as it now runs from 1560 is a sickening mass of duplicity, fraud, lies, treachery and unbridled ferocity, coupled with a wily, stealthy, panther-like cunning and malicious satisfaction in human suffering and a people's ruin, unexampled in history. The regent, Margaret of Parma, and Cardinal Granvelle, her chief adviser, took a diabolical pleasure in playing into Philip's hand against each other, and both together against the people of the country they pretended to rule, and Philip gloats over the discomfort and suspense of both, and makes fair promises which

he never means to fulfil, in order to keep them both quiet and faithful in their work of destruction, until he shall see fit to supplant them by a more energetic and terrible instrument of his deadly purpose. We now know that Philip is responsible for the whole catastrophe. The publication of the Spanish archives during the last fifty years has revealed the fact that the whole nefarious scheme for the extermination of a nation—the most peaceable, law-abiding, intelligent, loyal and prosperous of all his subjects—must rest with Philip alone. There at his desk, where he spent most of his time and carried on his senseless, unsteady, fatal but persistent and dogged office administration, he hatched his dark projects and directed their execution, without a minister, counselor or adviser of any sort. Neither Granvelle nor Alva were anything more than the pawns in the hand of the master on the chessboard of his game of ruin and desolation. He had a fatal genius for blundering, and it does not appear that he had any genius in any other direction. Born to rule according to the accident of birth, he was born to ruin according to the eternal law of incompetency, stupidity and brutish obstinacy. He could not recognize the inevitable. He lacked the wisdom which

Carlyle indicated in his famous retort. When it was reported to the Sage of Chelsea that Margaret Fuller accepted the universe, he replied, "Gad, she'd better!"

The cruel edict of Charles V. was revived, and it ran as follows: "All persons are forbidden to print, copy, multiply, have, buy, sell or give away any work of any heretic." No indignity or lack of reverence might be shown to any image of the Virgin or saints. It was forbidden to attend any heretical gathering of any sort; to read the Scriptures, or take any part in or be present at any discussion of them; and all under pain of a variety of barbarous punishments. All miscreants called heretics were to be put to death. If they recanted, the men were to die by the sword, the women to be buried alive; if obdurate, they were all to be burned alive after torture. Any persons who had any dealings with heretics or even omitted to accuse others of heresy were to be regarded as heretics themselves and treated accordingly. Persons who were accused of heresy, but against whom nothing could be proven, might escape with their lives if they abjured such heresy; but they lost their property, and if accused a second time, their lives also. An informer against any who were convicted of

heresy was rewarded by a large percentage of the confiscated property.

None but a nation of slaves could ever be expected to submit to such barbarities. Charles V. knew better than to rigidly enforce them, and for years they had been in abeyance; yet 50,000 persons perished under them in his long reign of forty-five years, and thousands of those who could left the country under his comparatively mild rule. But when it was seen that Philip meant rigidly to enforce these edicts, the irritation and distrust which they had always occasioned became greatly aggravated and inflamed. Factories began to close, industries to languish; foreign merchants closed their offices, and all who could prepared to leave the country, and insurrections broke out. A grim determination gradually settled upon the people to resist the monster who had now usurped all their liberties and abolished even their name and form.

They first sent Egmont to Madrid to present their grievances to the king and pray for redress, since all their complaints to the regent had resulted only in increased severities. The king promised redress and sent Egmont home in high spirits. The same day he wrote to the Pope of his purpose to enforce the

edicts more rigidly than ever, and sent a dispatch to the regent to redouble her severities.

The national rejoicing which met Egmont on his return was soon turned into mourning by the execution of an unusual number of the harshest decrees with unusual severities.

Orange had watched all these proceedings with the eye of a statesman and the discernment of a prophet. He had long known the designs of Philip, and he knew his character better than any other man in Europe. He had sought to dissuade Egmont and the people from a mission to Madrid, in which they had been duped and humiliated, and when that failed he warned them explicitly of their danger. It is said that Egmont mocked him for his fears, and parted from him with the words, "Adieu, my prince without a heart," to which Orange replied, "Adieu, my count without a head." Within six months of that time the count's head had rolled from the block. Than him the king had no more devoted, faithful and brave subject.

One day, when the edicts were under discussion at the council board, Orange rose and delivered such a speech against the enormities of the government as caused the president of the council, one of the king's tools, a stroke of apoplexy, which came near terminating the

caitiff's life. The country now broke out in open revolt. The nobles forsook the government and made common cause with the people. About five hundred young nobles entered into a compact to resist the devil that was working the destruction of their country. They made a demonstration and marched to the palace to present their grievances. The regent, panic-stricken and helpless, turned to her minister for advice, and he remarked that he would "kick the beggars downstairs." The gay young bloods caught at the term "beggars," and forthwith adopted it as a title of their union, and with the beggar's pouch and bowl for their sign, put themselves at the head of the people. They placed a fleet upon the seas which soon became terrible under the name "Sea Beggars."

The printing presses were set at work, and floods of tracts and pamphlets were issued, before which all the vigilance and censorship of the government were helpless. The people massed themselves in bodies ten and twenty thousand strong, and marched out into the fields, forming into solid squares, with the women and children and aged ones within, surrounded by the able-bodied men, armed with pitchforks, scythes, axes, clubs and fire-arms, and whatever else could serve as a

weapon to a desperate and determined man. In the center stood the ministers. And thus drawn up in battle array the gospel was preached, the Scriptures were read and expounded, prayers were offered, psalms sung, baptism and the Lord's Supper were administered, and the ceremony of marriage was performed, according to the simple rites of the Protestant faith, edicts or no edicts, Inquisition or no Inquisition.

They presented so formidable an array that even the armed hosts did not offer to attack them, and the government, under Orange's persuasion, was compelled to withdraw its opposition to the field-preaching.

The Catholic clergy, however, were not willing that the Protestants should be permitted to defy the edicts, even though now they could not be enforced; so they made a senseless and pompous display of themselves in the streets of Antwerp, which acted upon the people like a flame of fire to a train of gunpowder, and caused a national explosion.

Hitherto the Protestant outbursts had been peaceable, and only in the form of protest and demonstration; but now the unruly members and lewd fellows of the baser sort among them broke loose and raged in their fury against the foe that had at last overstepped

the bounds of endurance. Goaded to desperation, the Protestants arose. They invaded the cathedral at Antwerp and devastated it like a whirlwind. All its beautiful painted glass, its splendid images and pictures, its gold and silver and ivory statues, vessels and ornaments, glittering with jewels, were strewed a formless mass of rubbish upon the floor, and no man deigned to stoop and pick one up. The fury spread like wild fire over the country, and in a single province four hundred churches were stripped and all their images demolished; but no personal violence was offered, nor was there any complaint of theft.

Thoroughly frightened by this universal uprising, the regent granted Orange's request to check the Inquisition in return for his promise to quell the insurrection. His influence with the "Beggars," as they were called, and his power over the mob, put down the disturbance, and the leaders agreed to keep the peace as long as the regent kept her promise. But Philip was filled with boundless rage when he heard of it, and resolved upon summary vengeance upon all concerned. His plan involved the deposing of the regent, the removal of the Council of State, the beheading of all the nobles, the confiscation

of all their property, and the indiscriminate slaughter of the people. And the third act in the dark tragedy was begun.

The man selected to execute this mild and gentle policy of the clement king of Spain was no less a person than the now notorious Duke of Alva. He was in Italy at the time, at the head of veteran troops, himself Spain's most famous general. His subsequent career, however, deserves no especial mention in history except for the odium with which he covered himself by the manner in which he played out his part in the tragedy of the Netherlands. He was at one time estimated to be the greatest of Spanish soldiers, but it now seems clear that Charles V.'s estimate of him is correct: that he was competent to command only small bodies of men in positions where military skill was not required. When he came to contend with skilful generals, he either declined to give battle or suffered defeat. With all his veteran troops, which greatly outnumbered the largest army of mercenaries and raw recruits that Orange was ever able to put in the field, he could not stand before the prince or his brothers Louis or Henry.

In personal appearance he was tall, thin and angular; his head was small, his face long,

slender and sallow ; his eyes were small, badly set, flittering and restless, with a cold, steel-like glare.

In the position of ruler he did not manifest any of the qualities of rulership, but only those of a robber and murderer. His regency of the Netherlands can be described only as one long series of massacres and extortions. His senseless arrogance and inordinate vanity gave expression to itself in a statue of himself which he had set up in Brussels, in which he was represented standing with each foot upon the neck of a prostrate human form, the victims representing the crushed estates of the Netherlands. He was a man of narrow intellect, boundless rapacity, and a heart of stone, incapable of constructive or fostering measures, but capable of a reckless ferocity in destruction and a savage delight in pillage seldom or never equalled in the annals of civilized warfare. And in all this he was only the tool, the exact counterpart, of his master, Philip II.

When he arrived in the Netherlands at the head of 20,000 veteran troops, in August, 1567, the country had been quiet for almost a year, and the people had regained heart and returned to their regular employments. Signs of prosperity once more appeared and

restoration of confidence was seen in the renewal of business. But with Alva's coming a pall fell over the land. Orange resigned all his offices and betook himself to his estates in Nassau, saying as he did so to a friend, "The most extraordinary tragedy that the world has ever seen is now about to begin."

The character and policy of the man were at once apparent. He came armed with explicit instructions to turn the property of the country into the royal treasury and to exterminate the people. The laws were at once suspended, the courts were closed, a council was established, which earned for itself the title of "The Council of Blood," and eighteen hundred persons were sent to the block in three months. The country was under military rule, and literally held down by large bodies of Spanish troops, which were being constantly reinforced.

Alva boasted that he was sending a stream of gold into Spain "fathoms deep," and the work of burying and burning alive was going merrily on. The Council of Blood, with Alva at its head, sat from eight to twelve hours a day for the sole purpose of trying capital cases, and although the headsmen in every town were busy from sunrise to sunset, the prisons were overcrowded. It soon became

too arduous a task to keep up the appearance of trials and that needless formality was dispensed with, as was also the irksome courtesy of arresting persons on legal process. The seine was thrown and they were gathered in by scores and hundreds. As many as five hundred were taken at one time and marched to the block, the ditch or the stake, as fast as room could be made for them, without the preliminary precaution to ascertain who were Romanists and who Protestants.

Horrible as it is to relate, and incredible as it may appear, this is Alva's own description of the work of death to his master, and it went on for more than five years. Alva boasted that he had put to death in that time twenty thousand persons by judicial procedure alone.

The first check he received was from William's brother Louis, who invaded the North with a small army of mercenaries, and by a fortunate division afforded a happy relief to the stricken country, upon which the blight of death had now fallen. He called off the bloody monster from his favorite sport of slaughtering unarmed citizens and hanging merchants up before their shop doors to the necessity of taking the field and defending himself with arms. But before he set out,

Alva made good his title in history to being the most senseless tyrant that has ever undertaken the work of ruining a people. He adopted the policy of cutting off the heads of all the probable leaders of the people in the towns, and issued an edict that only those persons were to be exempt from death against whom nothing had yet been charged, provided they made haste to conciliate the government and received absolution from the Church. He followed it up with another, which condemned to death indiscriminately.

Spain has been remarkable for the number and variety of human monsters she has produced, both in ancient and in modern times. But after Philip II. himself and Torquemada, it is difficult to match, even in her annals, the "bloodthirsty hangman" of the Netherlands. A Dahomey chief could not be worse, and a wild beast of the jungles could not be more ferocious. It was as though he had become drunk with blood and, as if maddened by the thirst it excited, a perfect frenzy of slaughter had seized him, so that he could not be placated as long as a possible victim of his murderous passion remained alive.

Orange was watching all this gorge of blood from a safe distance, but with the fires of an inextinguishable wrath burning in his

heart and the lightnings of the day of judgment flaming from his terrible eyes. Orange had now abjured the Catholic faith and openly espoused the Protestant cause. He set himself at once, on the coming of Alva, to use all his vast influence for the rescue of his country. His estates were already encumbered to the extent of a million florins, incurred in the services of Charles and Philip. Besides that, the richest part of his possessions were in the Netherlands, and they were now confiscated to the crown. But in spite of all that, he was still very rich, and he proceeded to mortgage his properties in order to raise troops. He entered into alliances with foreign Protestant powers. He married one of Coligny's daughters, then the most powerful noble in France, and, although but a subject, able to enter into treaties with foreign powers and to declare war or make peace with his own sovereign. And when the great admiral fell, on the awful night of St. Bartholomew, William lost his noblest, most powerful and most faithful friend, who was about to come to his relief with fifteen thousand troops, and was left once more to face alone his and Protestantism's most relentless foe. But, in spite of the loss of his friends and of his three brothers, all of whom fell on

the field at the head of their troops; in spite of the treachery of his allies and the inefficiency of the mercenary troops they sent him, the mighty heart of the great prince never failed him. Defeat followed defeat; revolt and treachery beset him on every hand, but he never faltered in his determination to drive the Spanish vermin from the land. His son was carried away captive from the university, and his life held as a threat over his father. The furrows upon his face deepened, the mouth set more firmly, and the light of his dark eyes burned deeper and flashed more terribly; but the father sacrificed his plate as a last resort and raised a fresh army.

In 1570, Orange took the field in person, resolved upon victory or death. In order to justify himself in the eyes of the world, he issued a proclamation in which he says: "The tyrant will dye every river and stream with our blood and hang the corpse of a Dutchman on every tree before he ceases to slake his revenge and to gloat over our miseries. If he is too strong for us, we are ready rather to die an honorable death than to bow our necks to the yoke and give our country to slavery. We are therefore prepared, if need be, to set fire to our houses and perish in the flames, rather than ever submit to the mandates of this bloodthirsty hangman."

Defeated again, he had lost his land, his retainers and his property. All his hereditary estates were mortgaged to the last florin. Destitute of means, forsaken by his allies, with his credit exhausted, his family broken up and his son a captive, his friends in the Netherlands besought him to abandon them and save himself. But William had lost everything except his dauntless spirit and his faith in the great God in whose cause he believed himself enlisted. Disguised as a peasant, he made his way through the Spanish lines, addressed an appeal to the Protestant princes, and a letter of encouragement to his own people. Inspired by the example of their indomitable prince, and convinced that their cause was the cause of Protestantism in Europe, the provinces of which he had long been Stadtholder in Holland and Zealand resolved to perish to a man with William rather than give up the fight. They elected William Stadtholder and, under his instruction, adopted a constitution and voted men and money for the war.

The death grapple was now joined between an impoverished, heart-broken and decimated people and the world power of the age. A struggle ensued to which history records no parallel, and in which Orange was to prove

himself more than a match for all the combined powers of the world's greatest monarch and potentate. The statesmanship, the generalship and the wealth of the age were pitted against him. He outwitted the statesmen, circumvented the diplomats, and discomfited, under arms, with vastly disproportionate forces of raw and mercenary troops, the greatest generals of the age, and held them all successfully at bay for fifteen years.

It was now in vain that Philip tried conciliation and poured his treasure like water into the Netherlands; that he concentrated all his forces there, and followed Alva by Parma and him by Reguessus and him by Don John of Austria. William made use of the swamps and marshes to engulf and ruin them all. During those fifteen desperate years he organized victory out of defeat, kept the Catholic powers from combining with Spain against him, held the Protestant princes together in a forced and reluctant alliance, and secured from them from time to time grudging and meager but timely help. And so he fought his way, inch by inch, through the country, driving the Spaniards before him, until he succeeded at last in clearing the seven northern states from their venomous plague and united them together in a federated republic,

known as the "United Provinces of the Netherlands." The pacification of Ghent and the union of Brussels secured the coöperation of all seventeen provinces, when he dictated terms of peace and compelled Philip to promise religious liberty to the Netherlands. And it was because he broke that promise that the war broke out afresh which devastated the south and laid it in ruins haunted by wild beasts for a century, establishing, however, the new Protestant republic in the North, to which all subsequent federated republics are more or less indebted, our own not the least of them all. Orange was appointed hereditary Stadtholder of this republic, and by reason of his great services obtained the title of the "Father of his Country," which he alone of men deserves to wear along with our own Washington.

Nothing can better illustrate the benefits that attended those who accepted the Reformation and the miseries that awaited those peoples who rejected it than the subsequent history of these two sections of the Netherlands. The north went on to increasing prosperity and the south to increasing wretchedness and misery, and although the north afterwards rescued the south from its degradation, it is still far inferior to its northern neighbor,

Philip's reckless ferocity had at length goaded a peaceful, industrious people into a nation of unconquerable heroes. They placed a fleet upon the sea, which harried the coast and sailed all waters in search for Spanish booty, and became the terror of the Spanish Main. Alva, who had made his boast on coming to the country, "I, who have tamed men of iron, will soon manage this people of butter," found it uncomfortable to appear on the streets. The camp became a more desirable dwelling place for him than his palace at Brussels. Everywhere he was met with such looks of hatred and scorn, and greeted by the derisive cry of the people, "Down with Alva! Down with Alva!" that his position became intolerable even to him. He saw that his part of the tragedy was played out, and found it convenient to petition for a recall. Philip, as his manner was, let him slink out of the country in disgrace.

A single instance must suffice to show the temper of the people and the spirit that animated them in this war. It is the celebrated siege of Leyden. The Spaniards sat down before Leyden in 1574. Provisions were short, and all attempts to relieve the city failed. At last Orange, now ill from exhaustion and hardship, from his sick bed advised that they

cut the dykes and let in the sea. Three great sea walls, the work of generations through centuries, protected their homes and their harvests, which were just ripening, from the sea. It was a terrible sacrifice, but still they set themselves to the work with a will. The work was difficult, the winds adverse, and as the days lengthened into weeks and the weeks into months, the suffering became indescribable. Provisions gave out, and cats, rats and mice became delicacies and rarities at that. Pestilence broke out and mowed down the people.

The Spaniard offered them favorable terms of surrender, but they mocked him from their walls and declared that death by starvation or pestilence was preferable to Spanish clemency. "So long as a mouse runs or a cat mews within our walls," said a burgomaster, "we will not surrender." And yet again one is reported to have said, "When there are neither cats nor mice to eat, we will eat the flesh off our left arms and with our right defend our women and children."

After four months of indescribable suffering the sea came in and bore to their walls the ships laden for their relief, and the Spaniards fled for their lives. William asked what favor he should grant the citizens of Leyden

for their heroic defense of the city, and, starving and impoverished as they were, they asked for a "*university where their sons might be educated,*" and William founded the University of Leyden, which stands to this day as a monument to the courage and wisdom of the city.

It was here also that the Pilgrim Fathers found refuge and a hospitable welcome during the ten years between their leaving England and sailing for America.

The long patience of this phlegmatic people was now exhausted. The ancient Frisian blood was up. Better were it for that man who undertook to trifle with the defiant, passionate Dutch phlegm when it was roused that he had never been born. One might as well try to fight an earthquake or a whirlwind or a volcano in eruption as the fury of a long-suffering, patient, peace-loving people once it is kindled for revolt. And so Spain found. The resolution was now taken—better a drowned country than an enslaved one—and the people stood ready to cut the dykes if need were.

Not being able to cope with his great enemy by lawful means, Philip now had recourse to the last resort of cowards. He offered 25,000 golden crowns to any one who

would rid him of his unconquerable foe, a pardon for all crimes, and a patent of nobility. Six attempts were made upon William's life, and the seventh succeeded, in 1584. It was a story of duplicity and treachery to the end. The miserable wretch who committed the deed had gained entrance to William's house under pretense of being a Protestant refugee, seeking his protection, and it was characteristic of Philip not to pay the reward to the heirs until he was compelled to, and then in a greatly reduced form.

But before he died William had created a power that could not be assassinated, and which was gloriously to avenge his death. As it were out of the sea a Protestant nation had arisen, and under his guidance had taken a foremost place among the nations. The persecuted of all lands found shelter in its free institutions and protection in its strong right arm. They in turn contributed their intelligence and skill, their moral courage and spiritual fervor, to augment the strength of their adopted country. There and there alone on the earth flourished civil and religious liberty, like goodly cedars, and in their peaceful shade human energy and enterprise found for the first time their full scope and power. A world power

was fast growing up, against which Spain was to hurl herself with all her prodigious strength and with no other result than to solidify and consolidate the new state and dash herself to pieces.

William's son Maurice wisely fostered the institutions his father had founded, and ably continued the struggle he had begun. The people increased their prosperity, their minds were stimulated, and their characters purified by the fierce conflict they had so long been compelled to wage and were still in a measure compelled to maintain.

Amsterdam succeeded to the place of first importance among cities of the world, and became the center of wealth and culture, of art and literature, and for two centuries held the undisputed supremacy in the commercial, financial and political life of the world. Her town hall, built by the burgesses as their public building, is now a royal palace and one of the finest in Europe, and abundantly attests the wealth and magnificence of that city three hundred years ago.

The army and navy were so ably administered that the Netherlands became inviolable soil. Her fleets destroyed what was left of the Spanish navy after the destruction of the Armada, prevented the formation of a new

navy, and swept the Spanish shipping from the seas. Under Tornx and De Witt, she defied England, sailed up the Thames to London, and struck terror into the heart of that brave country, and then sublimely sailed the seas, like the jaunty little queen she was, with a broom at her masthead, in token of her absolute and undisputed maritime supremacy.

The Dutch East and West India Companies were formed, and Dutch ships carried the commerce of the world. They took possession of new lands and carried Dutch colonists and Dutch manufactures to all parts of the world, and brought back to the Netherlands the choicest products of all lands. They broke the power and humbled the pride of Spain to such an extent that she was never able to recover from the blow. Philip was brought to bankruptcy. He repudiated his debts at the last, and a collection was taken for him from house to house in his impoverished country to defray his personal expenses. Spain was ruined, her best sons sacrificed, and her resources exhausted by the most senseless devotion to a blind passion that ever infatuated the empty head of an unreasoning despot.

LECTURE VI.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—GENERAL CONCLUSION—THE PRACTICAL GAINS FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE WORLD.

In the previous lectures on the general subject of the Reformation, we have traced, briefly and hastily, the course of the great struggle for religious liberty. This general review was of necessity confined to historical events. It was impossible to dwell upon the principles which underlay them or to describe the results that flowed from them, except in a local and particular way. It must have been evident to you all that here was a very serious and grave omission. No movement great enough to cover all Europe, vital enough to continue over a period of two hundred years, powerful enough to convulse every European nation, and pervasive enough to affect equally politics and religion, could possibly have sprung from purely local causes or have left behind it purely local results.

It is my purpose this evening to speak of some of the practical results of the Reforma-

tion as it affected the world at large and made permanent contributions to the welfare of mankind. We are not only justified in such an inquiry, but we are impelled to it by the thought of the prodigious sacrifices which alone made the Reformation possible. The incalculable cost in suffering and in human life of that great struggle which reduced populous regions to howling wildernesses, as in Bohemia, Hungary and Belgium, and inflicted upon a country like Germany physical injuries, as in the Thirty Years' War, and upon France moral wrongs, as in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, from which these countries have not yet recovered, forces upon us the query—*cui bono?* to what purpose all this waste and suffering? What has it done for the world? Any success secured at such incalculable cost, as in Bohemia, for example, where the population was reduced from 4,000,000 to 80,000 in thirty years, must disclose within itself some permanent visible results in order to justify that outlay.

In order rightly to estimate those results, we must go back to the condition of things before the struggle began, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Roman Catholic Church was the only church in Europe, excepting in Russia, which was then an

insignificant and unimportant semi-barbarous state, which for all practical purposes may be entirely ignored. Two great powers divided the world between them, but professed to rule it in conjunction—the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic Church. The day had long passed when the spiritual prerogatives of the Church served as a check to the tyranny of the temporal powers. The Church and the temporal powers were now either united or divided, as the interests of one or the other dictated, for the purpose of maintaining their own supremacy and the more completely subjecting the common peoples. Absolutism in the State was fast usurping and destroying the ancient rights and liberties of the peoples, and ecclesiastical domination was stamping out the last vestige of intellectual freedom and moral liberty. The rulers had played into the hands of the priests to secure political despotism, and the priests had in turn played into the hands of the rulers to establish ecclesiastical tyranny, and the people were between them as between the devil and the deep sea. They were robbed by the Church and beaten by their rulers and left half dead. They were ground to powder between the upper and the nether millstones.

As a result, darkness and desolation reigned

supreme. The revival of learning illuminated for a time the higher walks of life, but left the great body of the people in a darkness deepened by the contrast. None of the ameliorating effect, either of the Renaissance or of the discovery of the New World, reached to the great mass of the common people. They were ignorant, and no attempt was made to teach them. They were degraded, and no hand was reached out to uplift them. They were wretched and miserable, but no effort was made to relieve their distress. On the contrary, their utter helplessness invited fresh assaults upon their liberties and renewed efforts to increase the burdens under which they groaned, and to rivet more rigidly the yoke which galled them.

In that century Pope Pius II. made a journey to Britain, and he describes the condition of things as he saw them. He says that the peasants (and nine-tenths of the people were peasants) lived in houses of stones piled up without cement, the conical roofs of which were secured against the weather by layers of turf. There was an opening at the top for smoke to escape, but no chimneys and no windows. A low opening served for a doorway, which was closed at night, if at all, by the stiffened skin of an animal. The garments of the common

people were of the coarsest and rudest sort, made of hemp, and their food consisted of roots and herbs and a kind of bread made of wheat. The floors of their miserable huts were of beaten earth, and they were themselves the serfs of the soil. The cities were, if that were possible, worse off than the country. They consisted of a few palaces built like fortresses, with blank walls to the streets, and surrounded by collections of human sties. The streets were narrow and unpaved, without drainage or sidewalks, the dumping places of refuse from the houses and hovels, and, unlighted by night, they were the scenes of violence and brigandage, while by day they were filled with turmoil and confusion. They were the breeding places of vice and crime, of disease and pestilence. The common people everywhere were uniformly ignorant.

There were no schools for them. Their persons and labor belonged to the nobles; their intellects and consciences to the priests. To question the absurd and ridiculous claims of kings or priests meant swift and certain death. There was no science to speak of. Crass superstition connected with the relics of the saints and amulets blessed by the Pope, and the use of holy water, consecrated oils,

priestly anointing and incantations, signs and miraculous words, stood in the place of medicine. Instead of chemistry, there was alchemy and the black art; instead of astronomy, astrology. Religion had degenerated into a gross and grovelling superstition, in which the visiting of shrines, the worship of images, and the relics of the saints—the doing of penances and the purchasing of indulgences, were the chief functions. Art had degenerated into a fulsome flattery of the great and powerful, a glorification of wanton princes and abandoned popes and their panders and satellites. Darkness covered the earth and gross darkness the people. Social bonds were relaxed and gross and terrible licentiousness and besottedness prevailed among all classes. A fatal mental and moral lethargy possessed the people. The churches were magnificent specimens of art and architecture, but they were filled with gaudy shrines and grotesque images of the saints, which were the objects of superstitious romance on the part of the people. Medical science did not exist in any proper sense, as indeed no other science did, and illness was regarded as a kind of possession of the devil, to be cured by incantations, magic signs or influence of the celestial bodies or

heavenly spirits, a visit to the shrine of a saint, or contact with the relics of a saint. Necromancy held the place that science now holds. The people were everywhere sunk in sloth, in ignorance, in poverty, in filth, and in crime. Tyranny and oppression under the sacred sanctions of religion had combined to rob and oppress the people, and whoever had the hardihood or dared to question the divine right of kings or the divine authority of priests, found himself the helpless and defenseless victim of both. The people had no rights that either rulers or priests were bound to respect.

It was then that the voice of Luther broke forth and rang like a clarion through Europe, waking men out of their long sleep, rousing them from their lethargy and inciting them to break the fetters that had so long bound them, and shake themselves free from their ancient and hereditary foes. The revival of learning had already run its course and spent its force. It had stimulated the minds of students and quickened an interest in ancient culture. It had made polite learning fashionable, roused the flagging energies of the universities to renewed efforts and given an impulse to more serious studies; but it had not deeply affected humanity as a whole

—a few choice spirits out of the great mass of mankind were alone influenced by it. It had wrought no amelioration to society. It did not deal with humanity as such; but with ancient learning. Philosophy and belles-lettres were its chief subjects. It did not concern itself with the problems of the day, nor interest itself in the state of the common people. Its attitude towards religion was sceptical, and towards life in general satirical or pessimistic. It had no new truth to disclose and no new impulse to impart to life. It quickened men's minds for a time and within a limited range, and then it left them.

But the Reformation which began with Wyclif a hundred years before the revival of learning, and which came to its maturity in Martin Luther after the Renaissance had declined, was a popular movement, born of the crying needs of the people and bent on securing their good. It proceeded upon a basis of learning and of thought; but it reached practical conclusions. Its leaders were scholars, and after Erasmus all the greatest scholars of the sixteenth century were enlisted in its success. But it was not primarily an intellectual movement. It was primarily a religious movement, and because of that it soon became a moral movement, a

social movement, a political movement, and an intellectual movement.

To illustrate what I mean, compare those parts of Europe where the Reformation was successful with portions where it failed, and remember that it succeeded in those countries where the revival of learning had had least effect, and failed in those that were its strongholds. Italy, France and Spain were the chief centers of intellectual activity in the fifteenth century. Germany and England were but slightly affected by the Renaissance, and in the south of Europe it continued to hold its sway for two centuries after the intellectual life of Germany and England had taken an entirely new direction. And what has been the result? Contrast Northern with Southern Europe and see. Southern Europe was, in the fifteenth century, the fairest part of the earth, with the single exception of the Netherlands. Northern Europe was rude and barbarous. To-day the situation is exactly reversed. Southern Europe has declined in civilization, in culture, in art and literature and wealth. Northern Europe has steadily advanced in everything that makes for human happiness and well-being.

The United Netherlands rose, as it were, out of the sea, a Protestant republic, in the

midst of the strife and feud of Roman domination, took at once the leading place in the world's affairs, and became the center of its industries, its commerce, its finance, its literature, its art, and its politics, while Spain descended from the proud position of the leadership of nations to the lowest place in the scale of national influence. Germany has risen under Protestant influences from being a collection of petty principalities at war with each other, having a sterile soil and proverbial for barbarism, to the intellectual leadership of the world, with a roll call of great names in scholarship unequaled by any other country of the world, and is to-day the most united, prosperous, progressive and powerful nation on the continent of Europe. Once she had worked herself clear of the rubbish of Rome, England forged to the front and took and long kept the leadership in the world's affairs. Under Protestant leadership, from the days of Edward III., she has always taken a position in European affairs out of all proportion with the size and importance of the country itself; but under Roman influences she has always sunk down again into insignificance and has become a mere island dependency of France. Says Macaulay, "Whoever, knowing what Italy and Scotland naturally are, and what four hundred years ago they actually were,

shall now compare the country round Rome with the country round Edinburgh, will be able to form some judgment of the tendency of papal domination. Whoever passes in Germany from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant principality; in Switzerland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant canton; in Ireland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant county, finds that he has passed from a lower to a higher grade of civilization. The Protestants of the United States have left far behind them the Roman Catholics of Mexico, Peru and Brazil. The Roman Catholics of Lower Canada remain inert, while the whole continent round them is in a ferment of activity and enterprise. The French have doubtless shown an energy and an intelligence which, even when misdirected, have justly entitled them to be called a great people; but this apparent exception, when examined, will be found to confirm the rule, for in no country that is called Roman Catholic has the Roman Catholic Church, during several generations, possessed so little authority as in France."

During all those years a steady decay is observable in the Roman Catholic countries which at the outbreak of the Reformation were the great world powers. They are seen to have been afflicted with a kind of pro-

gressive paralysis which pursued its irresistible course until all the vital centers were palsied. Civilization decayed in Spain. Art ceased to flourish in Italy. Austria lost her political supremacy, and France pressed on her reckless course from the Massacre of St. Bartholomew to the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror.

These great changes have been brought about by an entirely new conception of life. It was not only a reformation, but it was a revolution as well. It brought out and proclaimed a whole new set of principles for human life. Some of you may think that I go too far when I say that the Christian ideas and principles of life had been ignored and forgotten for a thousand years, and the ancient pagan ideas and ideals prevailed still over Europe. They had been adopted by and incorporated into the Roman Catholic Church. A significant illustration of this fact is seen at St. Peter's, Rome, in the famous statue of St. Peter, which is the object of romance and adoration to devout Catholics to this day. It is an ancient pagan statue of Jupiter renamed for the patron saint of Rome. It is a good illustration of what went on, not only at Rome, but throughout Europe for centuries. The pagan temples were taken over

by the Christians and given Christian names; the pagan idols became the statues of Christian saints; the pagan rites were rechristened into Christian names, as the pagans themselves were, and with them the pagan customs, laws and ideas. The Pope superseded the Emperor, St. Peter, Jupiter, St. Mary, the Magnus Mater, the mass, the sacrifice of Hecatombs. The Pope took the title of the priest of Jupiter, "Pontifex Maximus," and based his authority upon the same principles of force and fear. The names of the days of the week, of the months, of the year and of the great Christian festivals, as well as the manner in which they are still observed, show how deeply the pagan ideas were rooted in the minds of the people, how persistent they were, and how deeply they succeeded in stamping themselves upon Roman Catholicism, in which the man is made to serve the institution; while in the true state the institution is made to serve the man. That is the difference between the pagan and the Christian civilizations. The fitting symbols of the one are the Inquisition, the censorship of the press, and the Order of Jesuits, three of the most diabolical engines of despotism that human ingenuity ever invented. The symbols of the other are the open Bible and the print-

ing press—the two most effective agents of human advancement known to man.

The two ideas upon which ancient civilizations were established were force and fear. Force on the part of the rulers and fear on the part of the people. Might made right. Power meant despotism, and strength meant the subjugation of the weak to the strong. The sense of personal or moral obligation did not enter into the structure of human society. Government was based upon the principle that the weak must serve the strong; that the unfortunate were the legitimate prey of the successful, and that government and authority were the chief instruments for subjecting and enslaving the governed. The theory of human society that prevailed held that God had set up two classes of persons to represent Him on the earth—they were priests and rulers. To the latter he had given authority over the bodies and the lives of men, and to the former power over their minds and consciences. To question the authority of either was to question the authority of God. It was impious and perilous; the audacious culprit who presumed to question the grounds upon which such stupendous claims were based found himself speedily under the ban of both Church and State, an outlaw among

men, his property confiscated, his life at stake, with no one willing to offer him shelter or succor, to give him food or clothing, to minister to him in sickness, or defend him before the law. Treated as a wild beast, he was hunted and hounded out of every refuge and subjected to the bitterest persecution until brought to bay, when he was flung upon the rack and crushed and mangled until the suffering body could barely contain the spark of life, when he was given to the flames or wild beasts.

To maintain society upon these principles, two of the most diabolical engines of oppression ever invented by human ingenuity were established in the Middle Ages—one the Inquisition, the other the censorship of the press. The first was to control the consciences of men and keep their moral sense subject to the dictation of the priest; the other was to control the intellects of men and keep them in subjection to the same powers. Their supreme object was to secure mental and moral darkness, and cause both to prevail among mankind. Only so could rulers hope to maintain their supremacy, to preserve their privileges, to uphold their power over the masses of men. A more inhuman or satanic design could not be conceived. The binding up of

the feet of little children to prevent their growth, the maiming and deforming of sound and healthy children to make cripples of them for purposes of gain, are innocent and harmless amusements compared with the atrocity of which the Church and the State of the Middle Ages were guilty when they conspired to stultify the intellect and dwarf the conscience of mankind, in order to prevent men from thinking their way out of degradation and slavery to kings and priests into intellectual and moral freedom and integrity.

But nature is sincere, impartial and uncorruptible, and works with an unerring and unfailing certainty. You can no more permanently repress the intellect or conscience of mankind than you can cement over the ocean. The emissaries of the two great institutions just alluded to, aided and abetted by the Jesuits, spread over Europe like the plague of locusts, infested every household, invaded the most sacred privacies of family and individual life, violated all the laws of honor and decency, mastered all the arts of falsehood and duplicity, for the sole purpose of riveting more tightly the fetters of men and rendering them a more easy prey. Those who yielded to these enslavers descended still deeper into the slough and

morass of misery and wretchedness. Italy, Spain, Austria and France, having killed off all their Protestants, yielded themselves up willing victims, and all the world knows what these countries are to-day. While those who fought the triple Nemesis, fought their way through seas of blood, but to safe harbors and habitable lands.

It is worthy of note in this connection that the term Protestant did not arise from the differences of doctrine between the Reformers and the Roman Catholics, but because of the protest which the Reformers made against an act of treachery on the part of the Romanists who broke faith with them at the Diet of Spires in 1529. The characters of the men who led the Romanist party stand in glaring contrast with the characters of the men who led the Protestant party. The difference in moral character is one of the striking features of the whole movement. The Protestant leaders were by no means perfect men, but with one or two notable exceptions, they were men of staunch moral character, unselfish men, capable of great self-sacrifice, men who sunk their personal interests in the general good. The effect of the movement, on the whole, upon the people at large had that effect—it begot in them a self-sacrificing spirit, a noble, gen-

erous spirit. It infused them with the spirit of heroes and martyrs. Calculation and self-seeking disappeared for the time, and multitudes identified themselves with the great cause. But their opponents were animated by ignoble and ungenerous sentiments and displayed the basest qualities. Treachery, deceit, duplicity and double dealing were cultivated and became a fine art in the Roman Catholic camp. The Society of the Jesuits, who were the teachers in morals and the leaders in persecution, had for their motto, "The end justified the means," and they illustrated the doctrine in their practice. The most sacred oaths were violated; the basest treacheries were perpetrated, like the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, for instance, and the vilest crimes committed under cover of hospitality or flags of truce.

Over against the ideas of force and fear upon which the ancient régime was founded, the Protestant reformers set up the opposite and antagonistic principles of individual responsibility and personal freedom. Luther's ninety-five theses were the Declaration of Independence to the sixteenth century. His doctrine that the just shall live by faith was the emancipation proclamation of mankind. It was the root idea which blossomed two

hundred and fifty years later in the Declaration of Independence in America, which asserted the inalienable right of every man to life, to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It was a religious principle at the outset, but it soon came to have bearings on all the relations of life. For, if it be true that a man is justified by faith in God alone, then it is equally true that he has no need of the intervention of priests or the rites of sacerdotalism or the services of the hierarchy. It was a blow at the most stupendous system of organized religious tyranny the world had ever seen. And with the hierarchical system went also that other doctrine of the Divine right of kings, which was its *alter ego*, its logical shadow. It soon became evident that the single principle of justification by faith and not by absolution from a priest once established, a reconstruction of society from the bottom upwards, became inevitable. The priest horde must go, the hierarchy must disappear, the Church must be reorganized, the State reconstituted, and all the institutions of society revised. It is not only true, as Burke said, "Society is impossible without religion," but it appears from the effects of the Reformation that religion is related to society as the root to the branches of the tree.

✓ I. It is thus one of the first and most noticeable gains of the Reformation that a *new type of character* had appeared in Europe. A class of men had arisen to whom the words honor, integrity, uprightness, truth and righteousness were not mere high-sounding phrases, borrowed from an illustrious past, and used as a cloak to cover a multitude of sins against all truth and honor, but to whom they represented living realities and personal qualities essential to any form of character that would stand the tests of time and do the real work of the world.

✓ II. The *political gains* also of the Reformation are not the least of its benefits to mankind. The fundamental principle of Protestantism is the right of the individual to use his own judgment in all matters that concern his personal interests. That principle was generally favorable to liberty when it was adopted. Under its influence the people began to think for themselves. As we have seen, the doctrine of the divine right of kings and the vice-regal quality of priests came generally into question, and priests and kings equally feared and hated the opposite idea of personal freedom, because of the seeds of political revolution which it held. The denial of sacerdotal authority, and the consequent blow at hier-

archal pretensions which the Reformation involved, were only the beginning of the general revolution in human society that it was to work. Like a great oak tree, the principle of the right of private judgment which Protestantism espoused went to work at once to feel among the foundations of human society for its false and unwarranted supports. Society as then constituted began to tremble. There was not at that time a single good government on the face of the earth, a single country ruled in equity or judged in righteousness, a single spot of earth in which justice, liberty or humane sentiments prevailed, not a single republic or democracy or constitutional monarchy. The first Protestant State was the Dutch Republic. The battle of constitutional liberty was fought out in England by the Protestant against the Roman Catholic royalist, and a constitutional monarchy was the result. In Germany, Prussia took the lead as a constitutional monarchy, as the result of the Reformation, and De Tocqueville says, "North America was settled by men who brought with them a democratic and republican religion. This contributed powerfully to the establishment of a republic and democracy in public affairs." The "town system" and the "town spirit"

which lie at the root of our national system of federated republics were the direct outgrowths of the church politics which the early settlers brought with them to this country. The northern portion of our country was settled, not by commercial or industrial colonists, nor by political or other adventurers, but by churches as such—worshipping congregations who came hither to find the liberty to worship God according to their own way of worship. They were each of them independent units, who chose their own officers and elected them out of their own number, and on finding themselves in America without civil government or magistrates, they elected magistrates from their number and proceeded to adapt their church polity to their civil necessities. With a true instinct, the kings had divined in this religious polity a threat of their own existence. James I. had declared "No Bishop, no King." The laity of these independent churches at Boston, Salem, Plymouth, Hartford, Windsor, New Haven and other places, settled in the same manner or by offshoots from the original congregations, became strongholds of democratic sentiment and liberty-loving patriots. They planted the tree of liberty wherever they planted a church, and the seed of that tree

soon flourished as in its own native soil. Now and again a man appeared, even in the old world, like the Elector Frederick of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, Phillip, William of Orange, and Gustavus Adolphus, who had the people's interests at heart, and both sacrificed his means and risked his life in the cause, wholly from a sincere conviction of its justice and righteousness. But, on the whole, the rulers of the earth set themselves, and princes took counsel together, against it, because they saw in it the doom of their own absolutism. Even Henry of Navarre (IV.) abjured Protestantism in order to become King of France, and upheld Romanism as a foundation of the throne.

✓ III. *Religious liberty* is another boon which the Reformation secured to the world, only partially, it is true, at first, for even the Reformers were not always magnanimous, and the fair escutcheon of Protestantism is not unstained by some foul blots. But the root of the matter was there, and it was bound to grow until it reached its fruition. As a matter of fact, religious liberty in any form exists only in Protestant countries, or in other countries where it has been forced by Protestant influences. No Roman Catholic country has, while it was under strictly Roman Catho-

lic control, ever yet enacted any laws that permitted the practice of any other religion in any form. And if we find in France, Spain and Italy to-day any approximation to religious liberty, it is only because the authority of Roman Catholicism is relaxed and other influences have predominated. On the contrary, Protestant countries have been steadily working towards complete religious freedom and have approached most nearly to it in those countries where the principles of the Reformation have most completely triumphed.

The Roman Catholic Church steadily and stubbornly repudiates the principles of the right of private judgment and the liberty of conscience in everything, religion and politics alike. It reprobated these doctrines and denounced them as pestilential heresies and fatal errors.

It is interesting to note in this connection, in view of the objection often urged against Protestantism as a creator of anarchy and relaxor of due respect for law and government, that Protestant countries that have experienced the gradual and natural development of free institutions are to-day the most law-abiding and orderly portions of the world, while under Roman Catholicism anarchy

breeds, and revolutionary horrors are the affliction of every Roman Catholic country in the Old and the New World.

The principle of religious liberty is a purely Christian principle.

When Constantine espoused Christianity, and when not only was the persecution of the Church brought to an end but Christians were exalted to positions of influence and power, even to the supreme command in the empire of the world, their sudden release from persecution and their unexpected exaltation from a state of outlawry to the highest position in the government did not corrupt them nor change them from humble followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene into fierce and bloodthirsty persecutors of their enemies. On the contrary, they put in force the principles they had always maintained, and showed that they had actually formed their characters upon the model of Christ. Persuaded by the Christian leaders, Constantine, as one of his first acts after he became a Christian, issued the Edict of Milas, which granted entire and absolute religious freedom to the whole empire and prohibited only cruel and impure rites in pagan worship, and the edict was observed for almost a century, until a barbarous emperor ascended the

throne and stirred up religious bitterness between the different religions.

With that single exception, there had never been any religious liberty among men. Every man was expected to conform to the religion of his country, whatever that might be, and not to suggest any change in it, much less any departure from it. The early Christians incurred persecution because they were considered to be either a new sect of the Jews or a new religion, and in either case they were amenable to the law. But the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages conceived the ambitious design of subduing all peoples unto itself and of supplanting all religions by its own. It could tolerate no differences. It created the doctrine of salvation by the Church and it taught that salvation out of the Church was impossible. The Reformation was a return to primitive Christian principles in religion. It aimed to create a condition of things in which it would be possible for every man to worship God under his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make him afraid.

✓ IV. Not the least of the benefits of Protestantism has been its *effect upon the intellectual life* of its adherents. It acted at once as an intellectual tonic and invigorator. It

aroused the investigating spirit and gave rise to the critical method of study as opposed to the submission to authority which preceded it. The Renaissance acted as an intellectual stimulus and quickening in Southern Europe upon the minds of a few, but it neither nourished a sustained and vigorous intellectual life nor accomplished release from long-established authority, and in those countries where Protestantism was rejected it did not long continue, but proved to be a fitful, waning light, which went out within the century. In both France and Spain it degenerated into literary drivel and deformity. In France, intellectual life took the form of lawlessness and extravagance, and in Spain that of servility, and obsequious effrontery marks the literary product of the subsequent times. The influence of the Roman Catholic Church upon the human mind for four hundred years and more has been to stultify it. Since the Reformation she has produced few great scholars, and the cramped and crippled condition of the minds of her recent writers is the surest possible arraignment of her system of education.

Protestantism throws open wide the doors of knowledge, of investigation, of thought and of inquiry. It bids man search and find. The whole wide world is before him, with all

its secrets, and the intellect with which God endowed him is his for the purposes of finding it out. Protestantism imposes upon him the obligation of developing every faculty of his mind, and seeks to impress him with the culpability of neglecting opportunity to increase his power to think. He is in this world as a learner, and it is his duty to know as far as he can. He is to try and prove all things. No *ex cathedra* utterance and no *arbiter dictum* are to be regarded as final. He is to investigate, inquire and find out all he can in every sphere, and not to rest satisfied with any stage of knowledge in which he may happen to be at any time.

The effect of that sort of teaching was immensely quickening to the human mind. It necessitated at the outset provisions for the education of all the people, and that Luther saw; and Puritans and Pilgrims in England and America, as well as the Dutch people, set themselves at work to devise a general system of popular education. The intellectual supremacy of Protestant countries to-day is due to that fact. Holland first came into prominence for the intelligence and culture of her people as she emerged from the baptism in blood at the hands of Roman Catholic Spain. England reached the golden age of literature

when the Protestant ferment was at its height, and such men as Bacon and Shakespeare, Raleigh and Milton, were its ripened products. Scotland has been remarkable for the number and magnitude of the really great names she has contributed to letters, to the fine arts, to science, to philosophy, to statesmanship, to poetry and religion. The immense erudition of her scholars and the general intelligence of her people for the last three hundred years and at the present day are surprising, when we consider the generally impoverished condition of the country at the outbreak of the Reformation; and it can be attributed to no other cause than the heartiness and unanimity with which she adopted the principles of the Reformation and the strenuousness with which she has lived up to those principles. Her covenant with Protestantism was the covenant of blood, signed and sealed with the best blood of the nation. Germany has earned the title of the land of scholars. Since the middle of the eighteenth century the achievements of the German mind in all branches of scholarship have surpassed those of all other nations of ancient or modern times, and she still holds the palm for scholarship. Melancthon, the great scholar of the Reformation, gave particular attention to ed-

ucation, and he is still honored, and justly so, with the title, "Preceptor of the Nation." And Luther gave to Germany her first general system of education, and the principles upon which it has grown and expanded were first established by the great leader of the Reformation.

Time fails me to speak of the effect upon philosophy, how the Reformation revolutionized the principles of human knowledge, and in Bacon first established the true principle of investigation upon which modern science rests, and upon which our advancing knowledge in history and religion is developed and is alone possible. It has taught us to think on a basis of facts, not of fancies or theories, to base all our theories upon facts, not to conform our facts to theories. It has produced a new system of philosophy, beginning with Descartes and culminating in Kant and Hegel. Out of it arose the new sciences of commerce, of government, of industrial and social life. Political economy and sociology also are born of the very genius of Protestantism. It also rescued the Copernican system of astronomy from the blighting condemnation of the Inquisition before there had been time utterly to crush out its life, and while Galileo was yet a prisoner at Rome,

because of his adherence to that system, it found adherents and advocates in all Protestant countries. All natural sciences were encouraged by Protestant liberty of thought and investigation, and the study of international law arose as a new creation.

✓ V. But it is in the *realm of religion* that we perceive the chief benefits of the Reformation. When Protestantism appeared, a state of general irreligion prevailed throughout Europe among all the thinking, educated classes, and of gross superstition among the lower classes. Atheism itself sat upon the papal throne in the person of at least one pope. The chief effect of the Renaissance had been to weaken the hold of the Church upon the educated and thinking classes; but it had left them without anything better in its place. The Roman Catholic Church has always recognized the danger to herself of general education and, therefore, has discouraged it; has never permitted it to prevail where she could prevent it, and has established a modified form of education in her own parochial schools under the supervision of the Church. Wherever general education is established and compulsory, either she will not have her children go to school at all, or she will see to it that they receive no instruction but that

which she authorizes and approves. And the result is a reaction against the Church on the part of the independent and thinking portions of her own children as soon as they begin to acquire knowledge for themselves or come in contact with those who have it.

The Reformation met the rising tide of skepticism which was beginning to sweep over Europe, and wherever successful, stayed the course of that skepticism for a hundred years. It was preëminently the era of faith in all Protestant countries, and the period of rationalism which followed it was mild and harmless compared with the rank infidelity which prevailed in Southern Europe at the same time and gave rise to such men as Voltaire and Rousseau, while it was France, Catholic France, that was and still is the home of atheism.

Protestantism's first service in religion was in providing man with the greatest textbook of the spiritual life in existence. It called from its seclusion the Bible, and gave it its rightful place in religious instruction. It established the Bible as the perfect rule of religious faith and practice, and made it the touchstone of conduct. The translation and distribution of the Scriptures in the vernacular among the peoples of Protestant countries

were attended by immediate and marked results, in the sincerity, simplicity, depth and power of the religious life. Intelligent inquiry and diligent study of religious truths were accompanied by deep religious feeling and simple, childlike faith and profound reverence. The kind of devotion which consisted in grovelling prostration and obeisance before images vanished before the sincere homage which the heart rendered to God alone. The worship of shrines and images and saints and angels, the superstitious regard for amulets and relics and magic signs and symbols, incantations and genuflexions, disappeared, and a simple and pure spiritual worship of God took its place. The Protestant doctrine of worship is, "God is a spirit and desireth such to worship Him as shall worship Him in spirit and in truth." The Protestant position in worship is that no priest or ceremony can come between the soul and God; that the worshipper enters into the immediate presence of God by the new and living way opened up by Christ, and that no intermediary agents or instruments are permissible or possible; that every man is responsible to God for his conduct; that he stands or falls to God alone, and that unto God alone must he give an account, and from God alone can he receive absolution of sin.

Under such a religious system, spiritual tyranny and moral slavery is forever utterly impossible. The man who accepts it and lives in it has attained the glorious liberty of the children of God. Let us, therefore, to whom it is given as a precious heritage, stand fast in this liberty in which Christ hath made us free—a liberty in which we are all brethren, in which none can lord it over God's heritage, and in which he who would be first among us must be our servant.

The result of this change in religion appeared also in a new form of character. Perhaps nothing is more marked in all the last four hundred years than the growth and prevalence of a new manhood. Character has assumed a new station, a new dignity, a new solidity and a new worth. The coupling of the Christian graces with the heroic virtues is practically a new achievement. The wedding of generosity with justice; of kindness with firmness; of entire truthfulness with un-failing grace; of the utmost integrity with the most unfaltering affection as it exists to-day in what is known as Christian character, is one of the immediate outcomes of the Reformation. The qualities of endurance, stoicism and firmness which characterized the Spartan are wedded to the graceful qualities

of keen sensibility, quick insight, and æsthetic delicacy characteristic of the Athenian. The Spartan heroism and the Athenian delicacy and grace are met. The Hebrew conscience and the Greek exquisiteness of sensibility are united here; or, to be more general, the delicate grace and beauty that we are accustomed to associate with woman and the strength and fortitude we call masculine are become one. A true Christian character, as it appears to us, is a full-rounded, symmetrical character, having fortitude, endurance, integrity, sensibilities and grace. That is our idea of saintliness, "which without hardness can be sage, and gay without frivolity." "*Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.*"

And Protestantism has produced multitudes of such characters. Among the Quakers and the Methodists they are of frequent occurrence, perhaps of greater frequency than among any other bodies, but they are found among all Christians. The gentle, tender, sweet, pure, strong, enlightened, energetic, firm and dauntless champions of truth and right are illustrators of the mind that was in Christ, with none of the restrictions which characterized a man like à Kempis, or Francis of Assisi, or Brother Lawrence, or Tauler. They are full-rounded and symmetrical, giv-

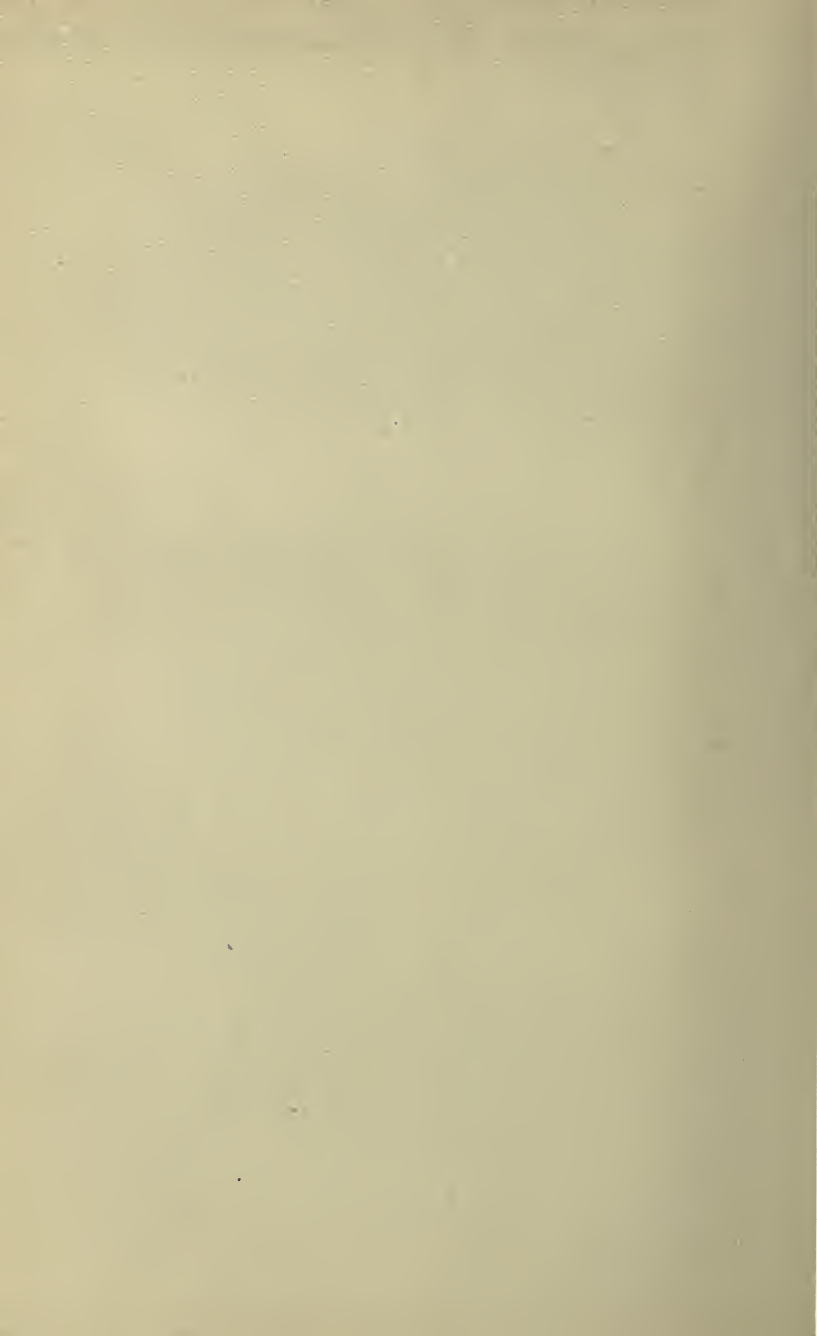
ing the impression of a fullness of stature of manhood in Jesus Christ. The genius of Protestantism is not the mere effort to escape hell and get into heaven by some means at last, but it is to make men better in this present world, and to help men make this world better; it is to teach men how to make a heaven on earth; it is to be clean and straight and true; to be men and not animals; to come out of the sty and quit meanness; and the success Protestantism has had in this alone, as seen by the comparison between a Catholic and Protestant community to-day, is enough to justify all the Reformation has cost.

In a word, the immense amelioration of society in modern times is a Protestant production, through its influence upon the intellectual, civil and religious life of man, and so upon human character. No Roman Catholic state has by itself ever yet developed a just or humane government, an enlightened or progressive community, an elevated or aspiring type of public character. Exalted and pure souls there have been among Romanists, not a few, but even they often seem to lack the intellectual balance and symmetry essential to the ideal character.

And this result has been accomplished by exalting and emphasizing Christ as the ob-

ject of worship and emulation. Next to the restoration of the Bible to its rightful place in the thought and study of men is the restoration of Christ to his rightful place of authority in the heart and over the mind of man. The ultimate authority in Protestantism as it stands to-day is not an institution called the Church, nor a book called the Bible, but a person called the Christ. Christ is supreme in the Protestant's heart, high over all, God-blessed forevermore. The re-enthronement of Christ in the hearts and over the lives of men in these last days is the chief service of Protestantism to the world.

“I live for those who need me,
For those who need the truth,
For the heaven that smiles above me
And waits my coming too;
For the wrong that needs resistance,
For the right that needs assistance,
For the future in the distance,
And the good that I can do.”



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